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TRAVELS
IN
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,
AND THE
BARBARY STATES,
IN THE YEARS 1813—14 AND 15.



BY MORDECAI M. NOAH,
LATE CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE CITY AND KINGDOM OF TUNIS;
MEMBER OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, &c.



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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twenty-fifth day of January, in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Mordecai M. Noah, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words and figures following, to wit:

"Travels in England, France, Spain, and the Barbary States, in the years 1813—14 and 15. By Mordecai M. Noah, late Consul of the United States for the City and Kingdom of Tunis; Member of the New-York Historical Society, &c."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled, "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled, an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

JAMES DILL,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

P R E F A C E.

THERE is no apology due for writing a book of Travels, but there is for the introduction of subjects, which may be considered as irrelevant to the original object ; and, that I may not be charged with an unnecessary detail of my official concerns while in the public service abroad, it may be well to explain the causes which induced me to send this book into the world.

During our late war with the Algerines, I held the appointment of Consul of the United States for the city and kingdom of Tunis, one of the most respectable and interesting stations in the Regencies of Barbary. The government thought proper to ingraft on my duties, as Consul for that kingdom, a distinct and, as I had reason to believe, independent mission, having for its object, the release of a number of unfortunate Americans, who were captives at Algiers, and, at the same time, to ascertain, as far as could be prudently done, the object of the Algerines in declaring war against us, and their expectations in the adjustment of the difficulties.—The manner in which this duty was performed, was an ostensible motive for my recall from that station, and on my return home, after some delay, my public concerns, as far as they related to pecuniary matters, were honourably terminated by the government.

In the course of those political contests, inseparable from the freedom of discussion on the subject of men and measures, my political opponents took occasion, frequently, to refer to my official conduct abroad, and not unmixed with censure, insinuations, and charges, which, very pointedly, affected my integrity. These innuendoes seemed to comprise one general charge—that the administration had terminated my public affairs in a favourable manner, and settled my accounts improperly, to acquire political support. This charge, affecting the government equally with myself, was repeated so frequently, and in so many shapes, as to render it obligatory to explain fully, all the measures to which it related, and I came to the determination to publish my journal entire, not only to satisfy those who have doubted, but those who would not doubt, that any thing improper had been done on my part. I publish these facts with reluctance : I wish, for the credit of the country, that they could have been withheld ; but there is no alternative between labouring under suspicions, which, however light and trivial, may, in time, acquire force and effect, or at once clearing them up, to the satisfaction of the most fastidious. This work may, therefore, be considered as a work of explanation and defence, although my official affairs occupy but a small portion of it.

The sketch on England I would have omitted, but it would break the chain of narrative, and I have preserved it. In the arrangement of notes and materials, it is more than possible that I have omitted points necessary and desireable to be known, and introduced subjects which may not create much interest. It is difficult to ascertain the taste of readers—to hit that happy medium which may give general satisfaction. Some require descriptions of habits and manners ; others of science and learning, agriculture and the arts ; some have a taste for the ancient character of countries, others reject antiquity for modern accounts. I have, therefore, described things as they appeared to me, and if I have dwelt with too much attention on the ancient history of places, I have con-

considered that it might possibly lead to a more close attention to the study of history, a study which is deemed of essential importance to the progress of learning and civilization, and the successful advancement of governments. It is, however, impossible to visit Carthage or Utica, to travel in Mauritania, Cæsariensis, or the Pentapolis, without calling to mind the refined and gallant people which once controlled those fertile regions, indeed nothing but ancient features present themselves. The history of the modern possessors of these provinces, is but a history of crimes and despotism—of the descendants of a civilized people, who have become savage and wandering.

In consulting authorities in the sketch of Numidian antiquities, I have placed more reliance on Appian, Procopius, Polybius, and Strabo, than on any other ancient writers, for although they differ on several points, there is, in the aggregate, a coincidence of opinion on general subjects. I have found Dr. Shaw extremely correct and industrious, but I consider D'Ainville's map of ancient cities the most faithful guide, and which should be used by all travellers in the north of Africa.

Isaac S. Smith, of this city, who travelled with me through Spain, has obligingly lent me his notes to refresh my memory ; and those on Tunis, not growing out of personal observation, I am indebted for to a worthy fellow-citizen, long a resident in that kingdom.

I do not know that I have presented any thing new or extraordinary in this work, or that I shall have advanced science, or promoted useful learning ; yet it may add to the stock of American literature. We are too apt to receive erroneous impressions through foreign sources ; and if every citizen who travels in countries which are seldom visited, would give his ideas of men and things, would describe people, habits, and manners, in his own way, free from the

alloy or bias of other writers, we should be more independent, and in time establish a permanent literary character of our own ; and as perfection cannot be expected, we must encourage commencements, which, however humble, may induce others to write, and thus extend the sphere of American productions. I am sensible that there are many errors in this book, inseparable from expeditious writing; and when it is known, that the greatest portion of it has been composed, while, at the same time, labouring through the tedious detail and perplexing difficulties of superintending a daily political journal, the indulgence which it claims will not be withheld.

TRAVELS

IN

EUROPE AND AFRICA.

PART I.

SINCE the prosecution of the war against the Tripolitans, our relations with the Barbary states have become peculiarly interesting. It was in the Mediterranean that the naval force of the United States received a powerful impulse, and obtained a fixed character. The policy of those Regencies is imperfectly understood in this country, and we are at this day but partially acquainted with the manners and customs, soil and climate, trade and manufactures of that portion of northern Africa.

I had long expressed a desire to visit the country of Dido and Hannibal ; to trace if possible the field of Zama, or seek out the ruins of Utica : but travellers in those regions, now inhabited by barbarians, must be strongly protected. The simple merchant, in the eyes of Musselmen, have no right to contemplate the scite of ancient cities, or view the mouldering columns and broken shafts of antiquity. I foresaw the necessity of visiting Carthage by authority, and in 1811, applied to the government for the appointment to the consulate at one of those regencies. I had another motive for directing my steps towards that quarter of the globe ; I was desirous of obtaining the most authentic information, in relation to the situation, character, resources, and numerical force of the Jews in Barbary, part of whom had been banished from their colleges at Cordova, and part were emigrants from Judea and Egypt. The only Jewish traveller in those countries, whose works are extant, is Benjamin, of Tudela in Spain, who travelled in the 13th century,

Joel Barlow, who had resided at Algiers for a length of time, advocated the appointment, and considered it expedient from his knowledge of the people and government, to make a nomination which might be acceptable to a vast portion of the commercial inhabitants of the regencies of Barbary. From some unknown cause, the vacancies at Tripoli and Tunis were not filled at that period; and I received the appointment of Consul for Riga, in Russia, an important port in the Baltic, but at that period holding forth no inducements, in consequence of the war on the continent, and the commercial obstacles which that war created, I declined visiting that part of Europe, and in April 1813, I received the appointment of Consul for the city and kingdom of Tunis. This was a salary office, and a trust of importance, and conferred as I conceived, after a deliberation of two years, and a perfect knowledge of character, claims and qualifications. I accepted the appointment, and made arrangements for my departure, under favourable auspices. War had been declared against us by the Algerines. Mr. Lear the Consul-general was rudely dismissed, and a vessel belonging to Salem was captured, and her crew made prisoners. I was instructed to negotiate for the release of these captives, and calculated to have charge of affairs generally in the Mediterranean.

Two vessels were bound to France, the schooner *General Armstrong*, captain Champlin, and the schooner *Joel Barlow*, captain Buchanan, both fine and fast sailing vessels, and I took my passage in the latter, and on the 28th of May, we left the harbour of Charleston. This harbour is well defended, the obstructions of the bar will ever prevent the entrance of heavy ships, and the batteries of forts Moultrie, Johnston, and Pinckney, with other small redoubts and fortifications, give a strong and efficacious appearance to the port. We weighed anchor at day break, in company with the *General Armstrong*, with a light and favourable breeze. The rising sun gilded the spire of St. Michael's church, which serves as a beacon to the mariners entering the harbour, and shed a soft light on the white barracks and embrazures of Fort Johnson.— On our left, on a low sandy beach, jutting towards the sea, were the summer houses of Sullivan's Island, built without order or regularity, yet affording an agreeable and healthy retreat from the heat and bustle of the city. The *General Armstrong* outsailed us, she was light and coppered, and after passing through the north channel, we soon lost sight of her.

The departure of the pilot is an event which produces some sensation. He is about to return to the shore, and probably in a few hours, will find himself in the bosom of his family : the voyager, like the pilgrims of old, braving the dangers of the ocean, has the world before him filled with peril and calamity, and voluntarily faces them in the pursuit of pleasure or of gain, of fame or intelligence. There is a magic in the word *home*, that few permit to have its due weight. Our pilot got into his little skiff and waived his hand, accompanied by the customary wishes of "a good time to ye," and directed his course to his boat, which under easy sail was plying around the vessel. The light-house gradually receded from our view, and as its white summit buried itself in the ocean, I left the deck to take a survey of our situation and the companions of our voyage.

The schooner was about 160 tons, extremely sharp and narrow, and had been originally pierced for 14 guns ; being at present converted into a letter of marque, and laden with cotton, she carried but two nine pounders, and eighteen remarkably fine looking men—a force which at all events afforded a show of resistance, and I trusted to the celerity of her movements in escaping from the squadrons of the enemy. Her accommodations were greatly confined. In a small trunk cabin I found an old French lady and her son, a young man of about 25 years of age ; a little active French woman, which, with an American gentleman and myself, the captain and mate, constituted seven souls, cribbed in a narrow space originally intended for the accommodation of two. The captain had assured me that no other passengers should be taken for the voyage, and I took no precaution to ascertain the fact until it was too late. The old lady, who, though a resident for many years in the country, spoke not a word of English ; her son had taught the French language in Charleston, and was apparently deranged ; the little French woman had been originally a *Maitresse de Hotel* in L'Orient, where Americans generally were accommodated ; and from the glowing descriptions they had given of our country, the little woman was determined to travel and realize some happy scenes. She arrived in Charleston after running the gauntlet through the British fleet, with a small venture of silks and laces which she had bartered for three bales of Sea Island cotton, together with a quantity of sugar and coffee, deposited at the bottom of her trunk, with the patriotic resolution of smuggling the same into France. "I have seen enough of America, Monsieur Con-

sul," said she, "I have been very much disappointed, *ah chere France!* will I ever get back safe." It was worth a smile, to hear a dissertation on America from a traveller who had been *ten days* in *Charleston*. The little woman talked incessantly during the voyage: she literally lived on deck, and in the most violent gales of wind, when our little vessel was almost inundated by the tremendous combings of the sea, she would sit under the bulwarks, and sing French catches—so that her lively voice was frequently heard in the pauses of the wind. A little dog was her companion, to whom she taught the military exercise, which, after having gone through with much sagacity, she dismissed with the constant monologue of "now behave well, and the emperor will give you a cross of honour—you will not be the first dog to whom he has given a cross of honour." This valedictory satisfied us that our passenger was no friend to Bonaparte, but rather attached to the *ancien regime*.

Passengers on a sea voyage are the "abstract chronicles of the time." From compulsory association we study characters; and define habits and temper according to the operation of events. An enlightened and intelligent companion, in all situations, is desirable, but particularly at sea,—where the time passes too frequently in a dull monotony, and the perils of the ocean add to the general gloom. Our passengers were not calculated to enliven us.—The old lady tranquilly confined herself to her birth; and the partial derangement of her son, rendered our situation peculiarly irksome. The incessant volubility of our *Maitresse de Hotel*, in *patois* or provincial French, no longer served to amuse us. A prosperous breeze wafted us to the eastward of the Bermudas, and about the fifteenth day after our departure we found ourselves in sight of a fleet of merchantmen, steering to the south-east under easy sail. It was then, for the first time, that an occasion presented itself to remind us that we were at war, and our vessel commissioned as a letter of marque.

The captain, tempted by the hope of a prize, made all sail, and brought us so near the fleet, that they crowded canvass and separated. Our little schooner had formerly been a privateer, and had a remarkable warlike appearance, and when her ports were up, together with her high bulwarks, she was well calculated to intimidate. Selecting a vessel that appeared to be the dullest sailer, we gave chase to her, and, as the seamen terms it, came up with her

“hand over hand.” The chase, finding it impossible to escape, was as we conceived prepared to surrender, by taking in sail, hauling up her courses, and displaying a flag and pendant: it was then, when almost within gun-shot, that she rounded to, and we discovered her to be a British gun brig convoying the fleet. To have given her battle with our disparity of force, would have been madness; and I soon discovered that our captain was a prudent man, by ordering the ship about and changing our course.—Being to the windward, and having the advantage of sailing, we were under no fear of capture, and the gun brig pursued her course without attempting to give us chase.

This little incident served to produce some caution in giving chase to strange vessels; and as our schooner and cargo were not insured, in consequence of the excessive high premiums required, the captain resolved to use his best exertions to get into port, and to act only on the defensive in attaining that end. The sight of a fleet at sea, after having met with no object to change the monotony of the scene for many days, is extremely agreeable. To find ourselves at the break of day surrounded by fifty vessels of various characters—their white sails swelled with a favourable breeze;—to be near enough to hear the busy hum of voices, and see the active movements of strange figures—to observe the interchange of signals, and condensed or extended movements of the fleet, and the reflection of a rising sun shedding its soft rays over the whole picture—is the most cheering object that can be met with on the ocean, and the only one calculated to enliven a pensive voyage, chequered with those scenes of good and ill fortune which so often await perilous enterprise.

Our voyage presented nothing remarkable until we approached the coast of France. Passing the Banks, although considerably to the southward, the extraordinary change in the atmosphere, and fall of the thermometer from summer heat to about 50, indicated the neighbourhood of ice. The dissolving of the Polar ice, long a subject of curious speculation, has changed materially the nature of our climate, and has checked, and will continue to check, the nature and influence of the seasons.

We had now been out from port thirty-five days, a passage which had been lengthened by a continuance of calms, and calculated that we had fairly entered the Bay of Biscay. On the third of July, or

by nautical calculation on the fourth, a day which we had earnestly hoped to have celebrated in France, a strange sail made its appearance to the leeward, which we soon made out to be a brig of war, and discovered that she had a cutter in company, and both apparently in chase of us. We kept on our course, and after the observation of two or three hours, we were satisfied that she did not gain upon us, and contemplated to change our course after night. It was a remarkably fine day, with a brisk and pleasant breeze—the sun was setting in all its glory, and as we were viewing it, like a rich globe of gold sinking gradually into the ocean, we perceived a small black spot upon its disk, which was rendered more strikingly visible by the contrast of colours, and the prismatic rays which illumined the atmosphere. The captain pronounced it to be a vessel of war, and a short time proved it to be a large one, and in chase of us. We crowded all sail, but in vain ; she was to the windward, and gained upon us every moment. We were now completely locked in and surrounded by enemies ; in vain we changed our course ; the vessel still approached, and about eight o'clock a large British frigate ran under our stern. I expected that she would have fired a shot or two over us, but even that appeared to be too great a condescension for a small cruizer of our appearance ; and a few marines, apparently a corporal's guard, levelled and discharged their muskets at our rigging. The captain was at the bow with a speaking trumpet, and hailed us, and demanded where we were from. Being very promptly answered “from Charleston,” he immediately replied, “haul down your jib, sir, immediately.” We were under her guns, and a second order was superfluous : our little vessel had all sails taken in. The passengers had crowded on deck, and each interchanging very significant looks, having very little to say and not a word of consolation. The seamen, with looks half dejected and half angry, coiled up the ropes, and one of them in a surly melancholy tone chaunted a stave from the old ballad of Captain Kyd, the pirate :—

“And taken was at last, when we sail'd, when we sail'd.”

Our little French woman, for the first time, was mute—her colloquial powers were suspended by the novelty of her situation, and she was only awakened to ~~its~~ true state by casting her eyes on the boat on deck, in which was safely deposited the sum of her worldly possessions, in the shape of three bales of cotton. “*Quel malheur !*” says she, endeavouring to contract the muscles of her face into a melan-

choly position, "*Ah ! Monsieur Consul, je suis ruinée—voilà ma cot-ton—cet un prize.*" I endeavoured to console her for her loss, which I discovered she did not feel with much acuteness, as she left us to put on a smart cap trimmed with cocliquot ribbons, to make herself agreeable to "*Monsieur le Capitain Anglaise ;*" presuming that his gallantry would at least be manifested by restoring to her the small commercial venture. A boat from the frigate reached us, with a lieutenant, midshipman, and several men, who requested the captain to go on board, and informed us that the frigate was called the *Briton*, commanded by Sir Thomas Staines. After some time had elapsed, and we had made the necessary preparations, the boat returned for all the passengers and their baggage.

By this time it was far advanced in the evening, and the moon shed a soft and silver light on the waves. The frigate was standing off and on under easy sail, and our little schooner appeared by contrast like a jolly-boat. We rowed some time without reaching her, as the breeze freshened, which waisted her at a considerable distance : we finally got along side, and clambered on deck by the assistance of her guns. "And so, sir," said a loud and harsh voice as we reached the deck, "you say you made her out first"—"yes, I did, sir, replied some person, with an apparent humility of tone. "You lie, sir, you know you lie"—"No, indeed, captain," said the other, I really dont." The officer invited us to go down into the ward-room, telling us by the way, that the captain of the frigate was disputing with the captain of the cutter, which was a privateer fitted out of Liverpool, and by the maritime laws, all vessels of war which are in sight, or give chase at the time of capture, have a claim to a proportion of the prize ; but such had been the frauds committed by these privateers in the declarations of their commanders, that it was deemed necessary to guard them with vigilance. There was also an unwillingness, on the part of the naval officers, to countenance the efforts of privateers, deeming them intruders on their vocation, and feeling satisfied that the British navy was sufficiently extensive to blockade the coast of France effectually. The officers in the ward-room received us with much politeness, and set before us such refreshments as the ship afforded, premising that as they had been for three months from port, their stores were nearly exhausted. Our *Maitresse-de Hotel* cast her eyes around the ward-room with symptoms of approbation at its space and accommodation,

and which appeared doubly ample, after being released from the confinement of a little trunk cabin, where we were cooped together like poultry, and living upon short allowance, a tremendous sea having drowned our live stock a few days after leaving port. The officers informed us, that their ship was attached to the blockading squadron off Rochefort, under the command of Admiral Durham; that they had been cruising in the Bay several days without having met with any thing; but that the number of American captures on the coast had been very considerable. Accommodations were made for the females, and a cot was slung for me, in which I soon found myself, and at leisure to meditate upon my new situation. Nothing can be more trying to the temper, as well as to the interest, than to be captured almost within sight of the port of destination. Here were obstacles which, though capable of being surmounted, still deranged my plans, and checked the progress of my operations. My motive in reaching my place of destination by way of France, was to avail myself of the advantages in purchasing the articles intended for a consular present, which I was instructed to make. I could have avoided capture by the British, by taking passage in a licensed vessel for Spain: but then I should have augmented the risk in being in the way of capture from the Algerines, who had declared war against us, and whose squadron had been seen off the Rock of Lisbon. It was all important to me, and of some consequence to the government, that I should be exempt from Algerine captivity; and of the evils of capture, it most fortunately happened that I experienced the least of the two. To philosophize on the fortune of war, and the hazards of commerce, would be vain and nugatory; to lament my hard fate, or curse my dull stars, would have been a want of philosophy.—So I went to sleep with the consolation of knowing, “’tis not in mortals to command success.” The next morning I awoke refreshed with an agreeable night’s rest, the first I had experienced for some time, and an invitation was sent to us to take breakfast with the captain, which was accepted. Sir Thomas Staines received us with much politeness and civility. He offered us, it is true, no consolation on our capture, nor dealt out unmeaning expressions of regret, which I was satisfied he could not feel. He appeared to be about the age of forty, with a frank manly countenance, the interest of which was somewhat heightened by his having lost an arm in an engagement with a French frigate, in the Bay of Naples, which he fought with a sloop of war. He

informed us that we were near land, and in fact pointed out the island of Oleron, which was in sight. "Had you continued the chase long," said he, "you would have run ashore;" another motive for being reconciled to our fate. After breakfast was concluded, he took us into his front cabin, where a choice selection of books was neatly arranged, and while he apologized for his absence, recommended them to our notice. We approached the land near enough to distinguish the small cottages and the green banks, a sight extremely refreshing after a long voyage.

The captain invited us to see the ship, which was in fine order, and was one of the largest of her class—the men healthy, and apparently with a full complement. I could see no disparity of force between this frigate and any of ours, and took occasion to make the observation to the captain. He admitted that the Briton was a large frigate, but contended that our Constitution and United States were heavier ships, mounted more guns, and had in general the best and most select crews. We now approached the squadron at anchor in Basque roads, consisting of four sail of the line and some smaller vessels. When preparing to anchor, the flag ship of the admiral commenced signals, which were answered by our vessel. The officer, after having made out the purport of the signals, reported to the captain, that the admiral directed him to *send for letters*. I could not but admire this telegraphic mode of communication, and consider it as one of the most ingenious and useful inventions for the conveyance of orders, and interchange of opinions and sentiments, that nautical expediency could devise. Indeed, for an extensive naval force, like that of Great Britain, it is indispensable. A boat put off from the frigate, which soon returned with letters and papers, and reported that nothing new had transpired.

I did not forget that this was the Fourth of July, a day of jubilee in our country; when every citizen gave loose to joy on its return; toasted the heroes of our independence, and united in a solemn convocation for the preservation of our rights and liberties. It was a melancholy reflection, to think on the day and all its joys, the proud display of our citizens in arms, the streaming banners, the roar of artillery, the jocund smiling faces—contrasted with our situation, on the deck of a British frigate, and so immediately under the protection of its flag that we could not escape. The captain, whether he was aware that this was the birth-day of our independence, or

was disposed to permit us to be alone, stated that he was to dine with his officers. "There is my cabin," said he, "there is wine and music—make yourselves at home." We accepted of this cordial and frank invitation, and took possession of his cabin, and while virtually and substantially prisoners of war, we ordered the band to strike up a gay air, while we drank to the day and prosperity to our arms. I subsequently discovered that Sir Thomas Staines was aware that the fourth of July with Americans was a day of rejoicing, and had ordered a "stoop of wine" to be dealt out to our sailors, who were quietly seated on the gun-deck; an act of liberality which reflected honour on his character. The next morning, another signal was observed from the flag-ship, which, after some interchange, was made out to be, "*send the American gentlemen on board.*" Our captain ordered the question to be asked, "*with baggage?*"—which was promptly answered, "*no.*" "The admiral wishes to see and converse with you," said he, as he ordered the boat to be prepared—"you can see his list of prizes and their value, as he is particular in keeping a register." We got into the boat, and shortly found ourselves on board the Bulwark 74, commanded by Captain Worth, and bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Durham. The admiral received us very courteously, and made several enquiries as to our voyage, news in America, and prospects of the duration of the war; and, as was anticipated, he showed us a list of American vessels captured within one year, the value of which, according to his computation, exceeded £800,000 sterling, an amount that I could not conceive would have been hazarded on the coast of France. "Your merchants," he observed, "have too much enterprize for the prosperous issue of their expeditions; they calculate erroneously, that if one vessel arrives safe out of three, that they will be no loser. If even," said he, "this was the case, it is impossible that the aggregate profits of the one will cover the loss of the two. But it must be known, that in the aggregate, one vessel out of three does not arrive. However," said he, with a smile, "I like enterprize; and if your insurance companies do not complain, they will never hear any objections on my part." He assured us, in conveying an idea of the profits incident to his command, that his share of the prizes would not fall short of £10,000; "and under such circumstances, I have no objection to the continuance of the war." The admiral then invited us to visit the ship, gave orders to have the armoury, carpenter's, and other rooms lit up, while he politely ac-

accompanied us through every part, and explained the various facilities and peculiar advantages of each department. The ship was in elegant order ; the armoury displayed every species of warlike weapons, arranged with taste and fancy, and in the highest state of preservation. The carpenters' and riggers' department were equally worthy of observation, and every thing in short indicated convenience and comfort, and an organization which we could hardly believe a vessel of war capable of sustaining. The admiral, on our departure, invited us to return to dinner, saying, with much frankness and hospitality, "I'll have the grange thrown out, and catch you some French turbot." On our return to the Briton, we learnt that the schooner had been sent to England, commanded by a lieutenant, midshipman, and ten men ; and that our captain was on board. We also discovered that the admiral had disposed of our French passengers by forcing them on board a little fishing smack out of Rochelle, contrary to the prayers and intreaties of the fishermen, who assured the officers that they would be imprisoned the moment of their arrival. I should like to have gone on shore on the same terms ; but, in reply to my solicitations, I was told that I must be sent to England—an event by no means desirable, as it subjected me to delay and additional expense. At four o'clock, we were conveyed to the Bulwark, and found several captains and officers, to whom we were separately introduced. "We have caught the turbot for you," said the admiral, "and, with a good glass of claret, you may, if you please, imagine yourselves in France"—a meagre substitute for the reality. "We supply ourselves with French wine," said he, "from the *chasse marees*, which are small coasters, generally laden with wine, and those not worth sending in when captured, we let go, after replenishing our stock."—The conversation at dinner was sprightly, and on general subjects. I discovered that most of the officers were experienced men, and were familiar with important national, as well as political subjects, which were handled with delicacy and address—no reference at any time was had to the war, and no remark even remotely made, served to indicate to us our situation. While partaking of a choice dessert, which, on board of a vessel having no connection with the shore, appeared rather singular, a young midshipman entered the cabin, and handed the admiral a folded paper ; which, after reading, he smiled and reached to me, saying, "will you have a bill of the play"—and I read, with no small surprize, the following

written bill :—" This evening, by permission of Rear Admiral Durham, will be performed, on board His Majesty's ship Bulwark—a celebrated play, in five acts, written by John O'Keefe, Esq. called *Wild Oats* ; or, *The Strolling Gentleman*. After the play, a hornpipe will be danced. The whole to conclude with Foote's afterpiece of the *Mayor of Garret*. Performance to begin at half past seven o'clock. *Vivat Rex et Regina.*"

" There, sir," said the admiral, " what do you think of that ? Shall we patronize the drama ?" " By all means," said I—" there is no reason why Neptune should not be dramatised ; but of all arts, the histrionic art is the last I should think could be perfected at sea." " Don't think so," said the admiral, " we have as excellent a company of comedians as any ship in the fleet, and I'll warrant you'll say so. A boy announced that the play was ready, and we arose to visit this nautical theatre. On the gun-deck, some fifteen paces from the officers' ward-room, we found it fitted up with a neatness, as well as ornament, that was really surprising. Scenery, drop curtains, stage doors with knockers, foot lights, and all the paraphernalia necessary to a well organized and well governed stage. A full band of music was stationed on the right, which, on our entrance, struck up *God save the King*. " Sit down," said the admiral, politely—" you have no occasion to stand up when *God save the King* is played, though we are accustomed to do it." We did not avail ourselves of this delicate permission, but stood up until the air was concluded. We found, on seating ourselves, that the audience was numerous, and not alone composed of the officers and crew of our vessel, but those belonging to other ships, who had been invited on the occasion. The play commenced, and was really sustained throughout with considerable force and spirit. The parts seemed to be well conceived and faithfully executed ; and the character of *John Dory* received additional zest, from its being personated by a genuine sailor, who gave it those nautical touches so familiar in real life. Every character was perfect, and the voice of the prompter unheard—a lesson from which many theatres on *terra firma* might eminently improve. After the play, the band struck up a sprightly air, and the dancing commenced. The naval Terpsichore was an interesting figure, tastefully dressed, and moving on the " light fantastic toe" with much ease and agility. " Don't stare so," said the admiral, " it is a *real* woman, the wife of a fore-top man. We are compelled in a fleet to have a few women, to wash and mend, &c."

The sight of a *real* woman, as the admiral called her, with an agreeable countenance, was refreshing, after a long voyage ; particularly as the female parts in *Wild Oats* were awkwardly sustained by men. It occurred to me during the representation, that a singular scene would ensue, if in the most interesting part of the performance notice should be given, that the French fleet, which lay in sight at anchor, had weighed and were standing out to give us battle. I imagined the scene of confusion that would take place.—The theatre and scenery demolished at one rude crash—drums beating—marines under arms—tompions out of guns—powder monkeys at work—doctors preparing lint and bandages—and *Ephraim Smooth*, with the rest of the *Dramatis Personæ*, ramming down grape and langrage, with an expedition which left no time even to divest themselves of their stage dresses. If ever a battle was a desirable object to a non-combatant, I should have been content and well pleased to have seen one at that identical period. But there was no danger ;—*Johnny Crapaud*, as the officers familiarly and rather uncourteously termed the French, were snug-in port, and probably at the very moment were representing a grand melo-drama, a ballet, or a tragedy of Racine, on board their own squadron. This may be fairly called dramatising warfare, and rendering it most agreeably expensive to each nation. The great belligerents, however, seemed to know each other perfectly well, by the easy indifference they manifested at the presence of hostile fleets. Had the British been blockading New-York, instead of playing *Wild Oats*, they would have been more profitably employed in looking out for torpedoes, and guarding against the vigilance of foes rather more watchful than the French. After partaking of some refreshment, the boat carried us on board our frigate.

The next morning, we discovered signals from the admiral's ship, and on enquiring their purport we learnt, that the frigate was ordered to go to sea and cruize, and at the same time to send us on board the Rippon 74, with our baggage. We had been but a few days on board the Briton frigate, and the very handsome treatment experienced from Sir Thomas Staines and his officers, was a distinguished proof of their liberal and frank disposition.—We parted with regret, after addressing a note of thanks to the captain, and was carried to our new quarters. Here we had to undergo the formality of new introductions, and making of new acquaintances in the ward-room. A small apartment was fitted up for us, and the

officers used every exertion to make things pleasant, indicating at the same time, that the ship was just off the stocks, and was unprepared in accommodations and equipments. The captain of the *Rippon* was called Sir Christopher Cole, and was knighted, as we were subsequently informed, for the capture of Banda, one of the Spice Islands in the Indian Ocean—an affair in which he was said to have acted a very distinguished part. We were on deck the next day, when he made his appearance from the cabin, and saluted us with a very cold and distant bow, but not a word was said. He was a tall, proportionably stout, and very elegant looking man, of about forty years of age, and carrying an air of authority and great magisterial haughtiness. Finding him so much of the bashaw, we considered it prudent to assume the same cold reserve and distant tone of civility. After some time, he approached us and said to me in no very inviting manner, “Colonel, you are permitted to walk on the quarter-deck ;” a permission of which we availed ourselves promptly, yet without feeling any very grateful returns for the indulgence. Notwithstanding the temper of Sir Christopher, I was well convinced that he was an able and most excellent officer. His attention appeared to be exclusively devoted to the ship—he was constantly in motion, and constantly employed in getting her into order. I therefore readily excused that want of cordiality, which was probably too sensibly felt from the contrast of treatment experienced from the admiral and Sir Thomas Staines. On board of this ship I perceived a number of very handsome boys, the sons of respectable gentlemen, who intended them for the navy. They appeared to be from the age of seven to twelve years, and attended school, which was daily kept on the gun-deck by a tutor employed for the purpose. I learnt that these boys were received in certain numbers on board of ships in commission, by order of the admiralty, where they were continued for a certain time ; and, as they displayed genius and a disposition for the service, the captain recommended them for a midshipman’s warrant, when they were sufficiently competent to do duty, and which they only received on such recommendation. This mode of appointment I could wish to see adopted in our navy, as it would guarantee effective service when the commission was issued. The boys received no pay ; they were only provided with rations and schooling, the expense of which would be inconsiderable.

We had remained upwards of a week on board this ship, when orders were received for the Goldfinch brig to sail for England, and to convey and land us there. Sir Christopher sent for us to his cabin, and in announcing our departure, lamented in terms of civility that the situation of his ship was such as not to have it in his power to shew us any attention, but trusted at the same time that we had been exposed to no inconvenience. We returned him thanks for his polite intentions, took a very friendly leave of the officers, and went on board the Goldfinch. Here was another change; and however novel and diversified it may have appeared, was still unpleasant and irksome. I was tired of sea, and was anxious to reach the place of my destination. I had requested to be landed, or put on board a fishing smack, which indulgence could not be allowed; and we were mortified by the daily view of the inhabitants of La Rochelle walking on the beach and ramparts, and could plainly discern with our glasses groups of ladies and gentlemen, whose liberty and pleasure we could not but envy.

The captain of the Goldfinch was called Edmund Waller, a name that reminded us of a chaste and elegant English poet, whom we subsequently discovered was his ancestor. Captain Waller received us with politeness, and apologized for the confined accommodations of his little cabin. She was but a gun-brig, and consequently had but little room to spare. He ordered, however, two state-rooms to be fitted up, and hospitably invited us to mess with him. His cabin, though small, was neatly arranged; and a choice library of books, and some musical instruments, satisfied us that he possessed a taste which his pursuits allowed him leisure to cultivate. The wind increased into a smart breeze while we were getting under way, and we soon found ourselves out sight of the fleet, though still keeping the coast in view. The Goldfinch was the first brig that gave us chase on the day of our capture, and Captain Waller desired to know if we had not distinctly made her out, as some legal objections might be made to his recovering that share of the prize which was justly his due. We satisfied him fully on this head. His complement of men was small, and apparently selected without much discrimination. In fact, it must be obvious, that in a large naval power, like that of Great Britain, difficulties will arise in manning their vessels with able-bodied seamen; and it is one of those difficulties which there is no prospect of surmounting. A long continental

peace will gradually undermine the navy of every European power ; and while the British may be able to retain in commission a number of ships calculated to protect their possessions, they will on return of war, an event which must be looked for, experience serious obstacles in giving to their navy that physical force and experience which hitherto they have been so fortunate in doing.

On the third day we approached Brest, where the residue of the channel fleet was stationed. Towards evening we discovered a sail, to which we gave chase. She proved to be a small and heavy-sailing brig, and a frigate appearing in sight at the same time, induced our captain to spread all his canvass, with a view of reaching her first. The chase displayed no colours, which increased the suspicions of her character ; we approached her rapidly ; fired gun after gun in vain ; she would not heave to—but, though an uncommon clump of a vessel, pursued the “even tenor of her way” under full sail, with a frigate endeavouring to cut her off on one side, and our brig within gun-shot firing incessantly over her. “It is some obstinate Yankee, you may depend,” said one of the officers, “who has made a prize of that vessel.” The captain gave orders to clear the boat in the stern for boarding her, and a lieutenant with four men got in, which was lowered down. Our brig was sailing at the rate of eight knots, and the tackling of the boat resisting the efforts made to unloosen it, when it reached the water dragged side-ways after the vessel, and finally precipitated all hands into the sea. A scene of confusion ensued—we had no boat to put off to their relief, and by this time was along-side the chase, which seeing the accident, lowered down the boat and rescued the persons from drowning. She proved to be a Newfoundland vessel, laden with fish, prize to a Baltimore privateer. The prize-master was ordered to come on board with his papers. He was a tall, thin, weather-beaten looking man, from Nantucket, who, foreseeing what might happen, had dressed himself in his best suit of clothes, and carried the residue of his wardrobe in a pocket-handkerchief. He presented the copy of the commission of the privateer, and his instructions. “When did you part with the privateer,” said the captain—“about ten days,” replied the prize-master, “and she is not far off now.” “I should like to fall in with her,” replied Captain Waller—“you’d better not,” said the prize-master, with admirable *sang froid*, “she’ll flog you in no time.” The captain, somewhat nettled, enquired what her force was.

“Why, she mounts twelve guns, and one hundred and sixty men, and she’d board you in a moment,” said the frank seaman. I perceived that this dialogue did not promise to terminate amicably, and was about drawing off the prize-master to enquire the news, when the frigate, which was quite near, commenced making signals, which was replied to by the brig, and after some time passed in making out the purport, the captain with an apparent reluctance, when asked what they meant, informed me that the Chesapeake frigate was taken. It was the first time I was informed of that unfortunate affair; and calling the prize master forward, he detailed the particulars, in that correct manner that relieved me from the fear that we had sustained any further loss than that of the captain and the vessel, a loss which, however, severely they were felt, is nothing in competition with the loss of fame, of national honour, and which, in that engagement, was manfully sustained.

The frigate then in sight was the *Revolutionaire*, a vessel which had been taken from the French, and which appeared to be a perfect model. Indeed she was represented to be, in point of sailing and beauty of delineation, without a rival in the British navy. I was subsequently informed that several enterprising officers had solicited the command of the *Revolutionaire*; but as these favours are governed by interest, she was given to a young post captain, of some influence at court; who, though in the main a very brave young man, was devotedly attached to the chase, and seemed to pursue Diana more fervently than Neptune; for, while his frigate was at anchor near the Isle of Rhee, he very composedly took his dogs and his gun, got into his boat, and fairly landed on the coast of France; and while he was pacifically employed making war on the partridges and in hunting game, a French 74, all ready for action, slipped her cables and was standing out for the *Revolutionaire*. The young sportsman had just time to jump into his boat, leaving his dogs, gun and hunting apparatus on the beach, and reaching the frigate, cut the cable and had just time to escape capture. Since which I learnt that he had not ventured on the enemies coast to hunt, but amused himself with an extensive aviary, and would not permit his cabin guns to be fired, for fear of disturbing his Canary Birds, who were breeding; of all *petit maitres*, a nautical one seems most out of character.

After night had set in, and we were walking the deck, the enlivening sound of a violin was heard, and on going into the ward-room we discovered our Yankee prize master, surrounded by a host of officers and midshipmen, fiddling away with the greatest *nonchalance*, and amusing his auditors with no very scientific display of his abilities, in the way of Yankee Doodle, which he accompanied by those familiar doggrels, beginning with "Feyther and I went up to Camp," with all that nasal embellishment and cadenzas, so remarkable in the quarter to which he belonged. Here was an example of patience and fortitude worthy of imitation. This man had no other prospect on his arrival in England, than a room in Dartmoor, or mill prison; but he had courage and enterprize to meet danger, and philosophy to sustain misfortune.

"Blest are those whose blood and judgment
 "Are so well commingled, that they are not a *pipe*,
 "For fortune's finger to sound what *she* please."

The next morning we entered Duornenez bay, where the residue of the Channel fleet was stationed. This beautiful bay had the appearance of a large amphitheatre, the entrance to which was between two promontories, and was exceedingly narrow, it gradually widened until it formed a spacious basin, surrounded by high hills covered with verdure and sprinkled with wind mills and cottages.— In this bay which was effectually protected from wind and sea, lay the Queen Charlotte of 110 guns, commanded by lord Keith, together with three or four line of battle ships, a few frigates and some smaller vessels. We came to anchor in this basin, from which capt. Waller assured us the Brest fleet could be seen if any attempt was made to get under weigh—it was a late discovery, the French had thrown up no fortifications; and previously the blockading squadron was compelled to be constantly at sea, and off the harbour of Brest; at present they lay tranquilly at anchor, exposed to no peril and was equally vigilant.

We were now nearer than ever the French coast, and with our naked eye perceived the peasants pursuing their daily labour, the wind mills constantly at play, and every thing wearing the appearance of smiling industry, comfort and content. I became impatient of this detention, a few minutes would land us on the shore; and I could see no reason why we should be detained unless it was intended to consider us as prisoners of war, a circumstance that I deem-

ed a fit opportunity to ascertain, and determined at least to make an effort, by addressing a note to the commander in chief, and solicit his permission to land; accordingly, I addressed a note to his lordship requesting that liberty.

Lord Keith replied in a polite but short note, informing me that he had no communication with the coast of France, and could not land me; this he accompanied by an invitation to dinner at 4 o'clock. The receipt of this note, and the prompt denial of my request was not calculated to awaken the most pleasant reflections. Instead of being in the way to reach my place of destination, I was daily getting further from it, I had the prospect of being sent to England without having any friends there, or being prepared by letters to make any; my means were decreasing, and during the continuance of the war, I had no prospect of receiving remittances or negotiating bills of exchange. With no very pleasant sensations I prepared to accept of his lordship's invitation to dinner, and to go once more through the routine of ceremonies and forming new acquaintances. At the appointed hour we found ourselves along side the Queen Charlotte. This was the first time I had ever seen a ship of her magnitude, the number of guns, and the multitude of people of various descriptions and appearance which crowded the decks, were to me novel and interesting sights. We ascended by a ladder, which admitted us in one of the ports on the second tier of guns, and was met by some of the officers who conducted us to the cabin of the admiral. His lordship received us in the most civil manner, and soon entered into an interesting conversation relative to Turkey, the Barbary states, and the policy of those Regencies; in all which places he had been, and was well acquainted. He appeared to be about 70 years of age, tall, thin and apparently of muscular strength, he wore a large and awkward star on the breast of his coat, and a broad red ribband over his waistcoat. We are not accustomed to the company of lords in our country, and nothing would have been more probable than our calling him *Sir*, so frequently as to exhibit that solecism in good manners, which, though republicans of the most orthodox school, we were not desirous of doing; besides "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," rendered it necessary to observe a proper caution. We had no reason to charge ourselves with a want of good manners, and the words *my lord* were repeated so often, that the sound was perfectly natural and reconcileable;

the officers generally called him *mi lud*, a species of orthoepy which might be very fashionable, and probably very correct, according to the court calender, still sounded harsh and grating in our ears.

In a short time dinner was announced, which made its appearance in a splendid service of silver, and consisted of all the delicacies that could possibly be imagined—a full and superior band of music played the battle of Prague with great science; and the table was surrounded by several post-captains, lieutenants and other officers, amongst which was captain, now admiral Malcolm, who was then captain of the fleet, and has since had the command of St. Helena, and whose appearance and manners were highly interesting. After dinner the admiral retired to take a nap, as we imagined; and one of the captains was polite enough to show us the ship. These first rate vessels, which generally mount from 100 to 130 guns, are exceedingly expensive to the government, and do not promise the effective service that vessels of an inferior class seemed calculated to produce; they may have become necessary, from the French having built vessels of the same force; but for celerity of movement, and economy in equipment, I cannot think that any vessel of a higher rate than a 74 should be built.

Towards evening we retired in the front cabin to take tea, which was served up in the American style. Lord Keith commenced a conversation relative to our country and its improvements—"I observe," says he "in your papers a great deal about Buffalo, in the state of New-York; I have been in that quarter and cannot recollect the place, to be sure it is near 50 years since I have been there, still I am confident that it did not exist at that time;" he then produced an old map to corroborate his opinion; and I explained to him the nature and extent of the improvements which have since taken place, not alone in the state of New-York, but throughout every state in the Union. It is not surprising that Europeans should find it difficult to reconcile to themselves such wonderful improvements in the face of a new country—such increase of population, wealth and resources, in a comparative shortness of time; accustomed, as they are, to an old and rapidly decaying part of the world, where things remain stationary for centuries, and where the territories at this late period of their history are hardly capable of advancement, they are apt to give but a small latitude to the progress

of new settlements ; and cannot, in imagination keep pace with such extraordinary progression. Were those British officers who served during the revolutionary war, to return once more to their old quarters, and the scenes of their exploits, victories and defeats ; were they to see large, commercial, and manufacturing towns, populous villages, and prosperous hamlets, on the spots where they remember to have seen a wilderness ; were they now to view the smiling face and contented looks of the farmer and labourer in those regions where the frightful yell of the Savage and Hyena were only heard, they would estimate the value and strength of the country by its real standard. No error will be so fatal to European powers, as that of underrating our resources and capability of resisting innovations on our rights ; a war may be lengthened, its privations severely felt, yet, in the end, we must be victorious. With a soil which yields all that necessity, or even luxury can require, a population, which, in increase, promises great physical strength—a new world beyond the mountains growing out of a new world—a hardy yeomanry springing up on all sides, their sinews braced with toil, and their hearts the seat of liberty and justice ; it would be the policy of foreign powers to evince towards us good faith, mildness and tolerance ; that, by a reciprocity of sentiment, we may successfully cultivate the arts of peace, while not neglectful of those preparations indispensable to a state of war.

We took our leave of Lord Keith, whom we found an intelligent, agreeable old gentleman ; one who had doubtless seen much service, and was deservedly a favourite with the government. He gave us a general invitation to dine with him daily.

The demand which small vessels were in for conveying dispatches, kept them constantly in motion ; the Goldfinch the next day, was ordered to return to Basque Roads, and to send us on board the Abercrombie 74 ; here was another transition ; and by this time these changes had become so familiar to me, that I was perfectly indifferent where I pitched my tent. The Abercrombie had once been a French ship, called the General Hautpol, and was commanded by Captain Fahie, who had himself captured her, after a long action in a vessel of equal force. I had in the course of some twenty days moved with such rapidity through the British fleet, as to become acquainted with a number of officers ; and had sufficient leisure and inclination to study characters, to probe and ascertain

opinions, and to gather the real sentiments entertained towards our country. This last officer was a native of St. Kitts, somewhat advanced in years, and possessed a mildness of character, a dignity of deportment without ostentation and parade, a mind cultivated by study and experience, joined to an uncommon hospitality, that rendered his society extremely agreeable ; and the favourable sentiments expressed towards our navy and officers, rendered his opinion highly valuable, because it was given with frankness, and with no desire of flattering. With this respectable officer, we continued nearly a week, when the Royal Sovereign, another first rate ship, was seen entering the Bay ; in clearing one of the points of land, she had struck upon a rock, and knocked off her false keel, part of which was seen floating near her ; and in communicating this accident to the admiral, he ordered her to return to Plymouth, from which place she had just sailed, and to prevent any danger from the accident, the Pyramus frigate, captain Dundas, was appointed to keep her company. Here was a favourable opportunity to send us in ; and accordingly we had our choice, either to go in a ship of 110 guns, or a small 36 gun frigate. Capt. Dundas urged with much politeness, that his ship was snug and comfortable, where we would be more at our ease, and perfectly at home ; and we accordingly decided, as it was left to our choice, that we would go in the Pyramus. The captain was familiar with our ports, particularly with the harbour of New-York ; he had been a lieutenant on board one of those ships, which, prior to the war, had scoured our coast, brought vessels to, boarded and impressed our seamen with impunity ; and capt. Dundas appeared to have done his part of the duty assigned to him with much fidelity, he was well acquainted by name and reputation, with all our naval officers. I had discovered while in the British fleet, that more inquiries respecting commodore Rodgers were made, than of any other officer ; they seemed to mark him out peculiarly for comment and observation, not with any asperity of opinion, but as one whom they appeared desirous of knowing more about ; he was at that period scouring the ocean in the President, and was an object of great attention and excitement. “ Were I to meet him,” said captain Dundas, “ it would be expected that with my little frigate I should fight him, I should do my best, but with slender hopes.” On the third day the British coast was in sight, and we made Eddystone light house, rising like a majestic pillar from the bosom of the deep ; here our pilgrimage in

its first stage was likely to be arrested ; how long I should be detained in England, whether considered as a prisoner, or left free to pursue my way, what effect would grow out of my detention, and what privation I might undergo, were subjects that could not fail to occupy my attention.

I did not now lament my capture, it had given me an opportunity of becoming somewhat acquainted with the organization and equipment of a British fleet, the system of discipline adopted, together with the manners, customs, and opinions of the officers, all of which, were points of importance, situated as our country was at that time. It was evident that the great success by which the British navy had hitherto been distinguished, was owing to that superior discipline and nautical science, by which they have been enabled to come into action with better equipped, manned and organized vessels than those of their enemies ; there has been a national spirit, an *amor patria* growing out of repeated successes, which have also tended to strengthen their fame, and keep alive their confidence ; it was only when the British met with a nation whose ships were better manned, disciplined and fought, that they were conquered. Our success may be mainly attributed to another cause ; a difference of national character. Many of the British seamen are impressed and brought to their guns with repugnance, if not indifference, as to the result ; they fight bravely, as a matter of duty, but carelessly as a matter of principle. Our seamen are voluntary combatants, and go into action as if liberty, country and victory, depended on their efforts, and each man stimulated by the common tie of citizenship, feels that he is defending his own rights in vindicating the rights of his country. Under such impressions, victory is seldom a problematical result. I do not think that the British have as good officers and seamen at this day, as they had in the days of Blake and Rodney. They have, it is true, very elegant and accomplished men among their prominent officers ; but there appeared to be a growing disposition to mix too much with the *beau monde*—to conform to the soft and seductive transitions of fashion ; and to evince a disposition to sink the sailor in the gay and cultivated patron of the drawing room. If this be generally encouraged that hardy and frank character, so peculiar to seamen, will be sunk in luxury and effeminacy ; and while active men of strong mind and muscles, capable of directing and assisting to work and

fight a ship, are alone required ; a race of puny spirits will spring up, strengthened by fortune and consequently interest ; and instead of tar and turpentine, we shall have Cologne water, lip salve and essences. Simplicity of habits and living, activity of mind and body are indispensable in the formation of serviceable naval officers.

We cast anchor in the harbour of Plymouth, which appeared spacious, and in a port near to the dock called Hamoaze, lay several line of battle ships ; at that period the British were employed in the important project of the break water, which has since been completed at a great expense. This was extending a pier from the shore, so as to deepen the channel by turning the course of the current and preventing the sea breaking with fury over a line of rocks and shallow water, and which was done by sinking heavy masses of stone, and erecting the pier with a strength sufficient to resist the inroads of the sea. We thanked the captain and his officers for their polite treatment, and he landed us at Plymouth dock, directing us to report ourselves to the agent for prisoners of war.

At length we were on land—not indeed on the soil, which we originally contemplated to tread—but in the enemies country, out of which we had to get with the best possible grace. We proceeded through a small town, filled with shops and naval officers ; the houses low, neatly built, and having an air of comfort ; we strolled into the principal stores, in which commodities were kept especially for sea-faring people ; and the whole appearance of Plymouth dock, indicated that it existed only by the support of the navy. After a dinner which we had ordered in time, and which consisted of several delicacies, simply dressed, and a bottle of that general favourite, denominated Port wine, we set out for Mill Prison, which was in the neighbourhood. This was a large square building of grey stone, surrounded by a wall, and has an entrance or gateway, which was generally opened in the day. It was a depot for French prisoners of war, many of which we found were permitted to go on furlough, and who procured a living by making lace and other small articles of utility and curiosity ; there were but few, however, admitted to this indulgence ; and though the accounts of excessive cruelty to their prisoners have been highly coloured ; there is reason to believe that serious cause of complaint existed. We passed by a grated window, behind which several French prisoners were seen, they were singing vociferously, and drowning care, by

that happy indifference so peculiar to their national character. Supposing us to be English, and unacquainted with their language, they abused us with all possible obloquy, and applied every vulgar epithet to us that their ingenuity could devise, and all with smiling countenance, expressive rather of compliment than denunciation. We paid a visit to the agent, who informed us, that having no orders, he wished to know nothing about us ; and that his advice would be to proceed to Plymouth, and there await passports for London.— Not a little pleased at this indifference, we ordered our baggage in a hackney coach, and drove off for Plymouth. We passed through a small town called Stone-House, and soon after entered the suburbs of that old maritime city, and alighted at the King's Arms. Plymouth has nothing to boast of, in point of situation or appearance ; the streets are crooked and the houses ancient, some improvements however, which are making at the entrance of the town, consisting of a new theatre, hotel, &c. together with a few modern buildings, will contribute in time, to divest it of that dull and heavy appearance arising from narrow streets, and that never ending gothic style of architecture.

Our hotel was commodious, and every thing wore the appearance of comfort. It was here, for the first time, we had occasion to observe the difference between American and English taverns, and to draw conclusions not very favourable to our own country. Our host of the King's Arms, was called Windsor, he was the most attentive man in the world, always active, obliging, and the very quintessence of politeness; his habits of "booing and boeing," had given him an apparent warp in the back ; and he accustomed himself to return thanks so frequently, that he forgot to ascertain whether any order was given, or favour bestowed, which required acknowledgments. We experimented upon this force of habit, and interested pliancy of temper, and would occasionally ask, "what time of day is it, Mr. Windsor?" to which he would reply, with a very low bow, "eight o'clock, sir, I'm very much obliged to you." A stranger could not fail to mark the difference, between the close attention of an English tavern-keeper and his family, and the distant civility and too careless indifference of an American landlord. Mr. Hawker was the American consul—his functions, however, were suspended, in consequence of the war : he treated us with polite attention, and had our names marked down in the

reading-room, which gave us an agreeable privilege during our stay in town. The loyal inhabitants of Plymouth, had just illuminated with much splendour, for the joint victories of Vittoria and the Chesapeake, and the names of Wellington and Brock were entwined together in one wreath ; thus bestowing upon us the highest honour they possibly could bestow, by comparing the accidental capture of one American frigate, to a splendid victory, which in effect, drove the French from the peninsula, and paved the way for those extraordinary events which have since occurred in Europe. One honest pains-taking haberdasher, filled to the very top with patriotism and poetry, had the following distich over his door,

“ When Britons fight and Frenchmen fall,

“ Oh, what delight it gives George Hall !”

There was something extremely ferocious in the principles of this non-combatant, who took such delight in a battle, while tranquilly employed behind his counter, selling tape, pins and buckram. The poetry was not bad, the idea only was barbarous.

While we were at Plymouth the loss of the *Argus* occurred.— This brig had carried Mr. Crawford to France, and had made so many captures in the British Channel, that orders were transmitted by the admiralty for several vessels to go in pursuit of her. The *Pelican* brig, was fortunate enough to come up with, and engage her. It is more than possible that our officers and crew commenced the action with rather too much confidence ; it was, however, sustained with great bravery, and I subsequently saw the *Argus* and *Pelican* laying together, and at once ascertained that there was a great disparity of force ; indeed this was admitted, and the British, by common consent, said little about the victory. I met two of the lieutenants at Plymouth, after they had buried their brave and lamented captain, both of whom were wounded. The war in the peninsula, and in America, kept the good people of England constantly on the *qui vive* for news ; and I discovered that the most trifling success, was magnified and so arranged as to produce a favourable effect. The stage horses and the body of the mail coach were decorated with laurels, and all the little scenes were played off to keep hope alive, and repress murmuring. A news-man with a package of papers under his arm, and laurels in his hat, came up to me, and after a blast of his horn, vociferated, “ capture and

defeat of the whole American army," and requested me to buy a paper for sixpence : I felt sick at heart, but took the paper, and was much revived by the discovery, that it was only the capture of two generals, who had strayed near the lines in Canada, with a few men ; and they had noticed the capture of the *army* and two *generals*, in order to give some weight and importance to the victory ; "mere fetches," "a weak invention of the enemy." I saw at once into the whole design, and was prepared to give due credit in future to their bulletins. Our passports having arrived after the delay of a week, we took passage for London, as no permission could be had to embark for France, without application to the government. Having taken inside seats in the stage, we found it already crowded to suffocation, in a warm day in August, and the top was engaged by a party of sailors, who hailed every thing on the way. The stage coaches are conveniently arranged with glasses, and the horses apparently of the finest blood ; the roads were in the best condition, and we passed by hills, dales and valleys with incredible rapidity. The face of the country is extremely beautiful ; the view is not impeded by forests ; hill rises over hill, and the eye discerns the misty top of each at one expanded glance ; every spot is cultivated, and the white-washed cottage, the splendid country seat, the green hedges and fields of meadow grass, give to the prospect an air of striking variety and interest.

We alighted at Ashburton, and hardly were seated, when the room was filled by Americans. This was a depot for captains and other officers of privateers, they crowded around us with anxious looks to hear the news, each had some distinct question to ask about their homes, family and friends ; but they all united in a desire to know particulars respecting the capture of the Chesapeake. It was an interesting sight to observe a number of fine looking men, prisoners of war on parole, each with a countenance beaming with interest and intelligence, listening with eager attention, to the detail of an event, which they had but imperfectly understood ; they would know the most minute particulars, and each man shook his head with a smiling look of approbation, when declaring, "I knew the Chesapeake must have been taken by surprize, not by a fair fight, yard arm and yard arm, broadside and broadside. We have lost no honour," said these hardy citizens, as they left the room. We continued on our journey, after partaking of some refreshment ; and

found an additional passenger on top, a young lady who had been on a visit to her friends. I was tempted by the beauty of the day, to experiment, by mounting on the top of the stage, and was well repaid by the gratification of seeing the country to the best advantage. This mode of conveyance is perfectly safe, as the roads are fine, the horses sure, and the drivers skilful, therefore, accidents seldom occur. We approached Exeter, once a seaport ; but, at present, the navigation is so impeded, as not to permit vessels of heavy tonnage to come within five miles of the city. It is a large and apparently populous town, situated on the river Ex, over which a stone bridge is thrown. We rattled through the streets, which contained many stores, and had the appearance of bustle and business, and turned into the Cathedral yard, where we alighted at an excellent Inn. Our object was to visit this venerable pile, so celebrated for architecture, but particularly for an organ of extraordinary tone and sweetness, of which Dr. Jackson, the composer, had long been the organist, and from which he had obtained his celebrity. The Cathedral is near 850 years old ; the saints, carved of free-stone, and placed in the niches on the outside, are mouldering by the effect of time and the air ; the interior is lofty, and the highly finished painted windows, cast a solemn shade on the lengthened aisles. An old grey headed man, who seemed to have passed many years in company with knights, bishops and noblemen who lay there " quietly in-urned," accompanied us through the Cathedral, and pointed out each tomb and sarcophagus, while he gave us a biographical sketch of their tenants. The organ, whose high and swelling tones reverberated through the fretted roof was singularly sweet and powerful, and served to heighten the interest of the scene. The heavy carved pulpit—the sacristy and pews—the canopy of the Bishop—all exhibit the appearance of past ages. The imagination retrogrades for centuries, and contrasts the architecture, the habits and customs of antiquity, with the light and transitory work of modern times, together with a difference of sentiment, and a vast distinction of manners.

We reached Bristol the next day. This city was once considered second only to London, and carried on a profitable commerce with the United States, which has now, in part decayed ; there are some woollen manufactories, but the principle article of trade is glass, and there are at least 18 glass houses of various descrip-

tions and denominations. It lies on the river Avon, over which a bridge, consisting of several arches, is thrown ; the city is not remarkable for beauty of architecture, nor are the streets spacious and airy, it has a dingy smoky hue, probably arising from its manufactures. We crossed the bridge, on which stood an old soldier with a wooden leg, who "shouldered his crutch," and came to a present as the stage passed, with his hat on the ground, ready to receive alms of passengers. Old soldiers are not frequently seen begging ; hospitals are numerous, both for soldiers and seamen ; and these assylums in misfortune, produce a consolation which remedies the evil of frequent wars. Bristol contains many quakers of wealth and enterprise ; and in one of the churches there is a monument of sir Richard Penn, father to our good William Penn, which no American will see without interest. There are said to be 90,000 inhabitants in Bristol, it has five or six well endowed hospitals, several colleges and free schools, and a very extensive pin manufactory. We remained no longer in this city than was sufficient to see the place ; denying ourselves the pleasure of visiting the hot wells, which are only a mile from town, in consequence of being pressed for time, but more particularly in being but twelve miles from Bath, for which place we took a post chaise and reached to dine.

Bath is celebrated for its antiquity ; the Romans were accustomed to its waters, and it has ever since been a fashionable resort, not only to invalids, but to the healthy and gay. Before Brighton, Margate, and other watering places, contiguous to the metropolis, were generally visited, Bath was the most fashionable winter residence. It is one of the most beautiful cities in England, and is built on the declivity of a hill ; the old town, was originally constructed in the valley ; it is surrounded with hills on all sides, with an entrance from the east and west, full of picturesque views and cultivated scenery. The "soft flowing Avon" pursues its course towards Bristol. Much pains and expense have been bestowed on this city ; the houses are constructed of free-stone ; quarries are found in the neighbourhood of this soft and porous stone, which the weather tempers, and with which a magnificent pile of buildings, called the Crescent and Circus is erected. The houses are three stories high, built with a uniformity of plan and adorned with columns, partly of the Corin-

thian, Doric and Ionick orders. It has three entrances, and the houses are used principally for boarders. A reservoir of water is in the centre of the area, which supplies the city. We alighted at the White Hart near the old White Lion, two inns celebrated in so many novels and adventures, that American readers are familiar with their names. The accommodations in these Inns, are of a very superior order ; active waiters, rooms neat, some splendidly furnished, beds of down, sheets aired in lavender, &c. Our table was profusely supplied, and the cost, taking every thing into consideration, was moderate. We arrived at Bath at an unseasonable period. Winter is the harvest, when all the invalids, gouty old men, and hypochondriacal women assemble to drink the waters, when young ladies amuse themselves with the walks, the pump, and ball rooms, and lounge at the library and gardens. At present we saw but few persons who wore the air of strangers ; and I observed some rheumatic patients wheeled about on the pavements in small cars, led by servants. We strolled into the pump rooms, and thought of beau Nash, long the master of ceremonies at this head quarters of fashion : his place, however, is supplied, by a gentleman who is regularly elected. Sidney Gardens, which are at the extremity of a noble walk, are neatly laid out, and appeared to be much frequented, as we there met several well dressed and elegant looking women. There is not much bustle in Bath, nor much business ; it may be said that it prospers literally by the indisposition of strangers, and relies on the medicinal qualities of the waters for encouragement and support : the Romans visited this city for the same object, and some of their baths have been lately discovered. There is a noble hospital erected for the reception of the sick and lame from all parts of the Kingdom ; the climate however, is moist and damp.

We left Bath the next morning in the mail for London, the distance to which was 107 miles. The country was beautifully diversified with villas, cottages, lawns, shrubberies and pine trees, and all wearing the appearance of gaiety and comfort ; peasants passed us smiling and healthy ; broad wheel wagons heavily laden, moved slowly over the fine and level roads ; post-chaise, stages, the tops of the latter overloaded with passengers, passed us in quick succession. We found two old ladies were our only companions ; they talked of America, deprecated the war, made some inquiries respecting re-

lations which they had in Savannah ; how close after all, they said, is the affinity between the two nations ; a war does appear unnatural, but the British ministry should have thought of that.

We arrived at Salt Hill to tea, and passed Windsor Castle at a distance, on which a flag was displayed. A guard with two enormous horse pistols deposited in his coat pockets, mounted behind the coach as we turned on Hounslow heath ; this is a dreary moor of several miles in length, and the gloom of which was heightened by the approach of night, and in no manner allayed by the account of numerous robberies and murders committed, which our companions kindly, with a view of raising our spirits, recapitulated to us. We entered the suburbs of London ; the lamps were just lighted, and they served as a contrast to the gloom, heightened as it was by a dense atmosphere, and a dingy smoky hue, which obscured every thing. The coach drove rapidly through Hyde Park down Oxford-street, which is wide and elegant ; we passed by Charing Cross, (where a figure on horseback is placed on a pedestal, which we already knew to be that of king Charles,) up the Strand, and turned quickly into a narrow court way, where we alighted and found ourselves at the Angel Inn, behind St. Clement's church ; *Laus Deo*. We arrived safe after the perils of the ocean, and though not exactly in the city where we desired and expected to be ; still we were here, and philosophy must aid us in our disappointment, and curiosity entice us in a thousand winning ways to see every thing worthy of observation in this great metropolis. I slept but indifferently the first night, as a strange place is not calculated for slumber ; but in London, a variety of noises from watchmen and nocturnal ramblers, who sleep by day and prowl by night, are not calculated to bring repose : " thoughts and remembrances " united to disturb me, recollections of the past, and anticipations of the future, kept me awake until dawn. I arose early, and sallied out of the Court-yard of the Inn ; St. Clement's Church was before me, a neat design by Sir Christopher Wren, and built of free-stone, with a portico supported by ionick columns, and a beautiful steeple of extraordinary height. The good people were just stirring, shops were opening and the milk-man and baker taking their diurnal rounds. It was necessary to obtain lodgings, and after a meager breakfast which did not vary during my stay in London, we set out for Adam-street, Adelphi, where we had been recommended by a naval officer, and where agreeable lodgings were obtained at a moderate

price. Our landlady recommended the precaution of reporting ourselves without delay at the Alien-office, and gave us a direction for that purpose ; this ceremony could not be evaded. Much has been said respecting the vigilance of the London police ; and if relating to internal concerns of the city, the detection of thieves and other criminals, it may be said to have acquired a just reputation ; but the police in reference to foreign relations, in the detection of foreign agents, and the variety of political plans which are organized in London, is far behind the police of Paris or Vienna.— But this may be accounted for, by the insular situation of Great Britain, which though contiguous to the continent, has nevertheless a barrier in the channel, which, if well guarded, is after all the best kind of police. The British have suffered eminently in their interest by knowing too much of affairs on the continent, and feeling a disposition to mingle their voice and efforts in wars, not called for by expediency, or demanded on the score of interest. Had the policy of the British cabinet been generally of a more pacific nature, in the great continental struggles, they would not at this day have had so many commercial rivals ; or awakened the attention of European potentates to the importance and necessity of encouraging their own manufactures.

We were civilly treated at the Alien-office, and did not appear to be known : our names were entered in a book and we were desired to report ourselves at the office, once in a fortnight. This was very well, considering we were at war, and I called on Mr. Beasley, the American agent for prisoners, and who had been left in charge of American affairs generally, to ascertain what the intentions of the British government were in relation to us.

The duty of reporting ourselves being performed, my agreeable friend and fellow voyager suggested the necessity of apportioning our time to the best advantage. “ We may be ordered to leave the country shortly,” said he, therefore let us see all that is most worthy of being seen. How then am I to describe London? what objects are considered the most instructive and the most curious? to which place shall I first bend my steps? These were questions which suggested themselves by the novelty of our situation ; our time and presence were controlled by the Government, and we finally determined to see every thing interesting in this overpopulated metropolis, to which accident may direct us, and we set out with this determination upon

our peregrinations, not forgetting those legendary objects of curiosity "time out of mind," the King, the Tower, the Lions, and the Monument. On our return from the Alien-office to our lodgings in the Adelphi, we entered, without special invitation, into the Academy of useful arts, manufactures and commerce. This Society, certainly is of the greatest importance in advancing and patronising useful inventions, was instituted in the year 1753; the rooms are neither spacious, nor are the specimens of inventions so numerous as we had reason to believe. However, we saw several ingenious models, particularly one of an artificial arm and hand, which was so constructed by springs, as to perform every natural function; an invention, which in the reign of Mars and Bellona, was certainly useful and necessary; and doubtless, many an honest hearted Briton, returning from the peninsula, found occasion for wooden arms and legs, for which Ferdinand the 7th never contemplated payment, either in gratitude or something more tangible. The room, in which the Society hold their meetings, is ornamented with a variety of allegorical paintings, in Barry's best style, and they evince that force of execution and brilliancy of colouring, so remarkable in the works of that distinguished artist; he was, nevertheless, frequently on the verge of starving, and, if I am not in error, he solicited permission to adorn that room gratuitously, as a specimen of his abilities. The Adelphi is a neat and elegant row of buildings, with a noble terrace in front, having a full view of Westminster, the bridges, and in fact of almost every conspicuous object that the range of the eye can take in. Mrs. Garrick was our neighbour; an old looking chariot with a superannuated coachman, was frequently before her door. The sight of the chariot and old coachman, which, in all probability, had frequently conveyed David Garrick to Drury Lane Theatre, could not fail to awaken recollections of the singular age of talent in which he lived: he was, probably, the only instance in the *corps dramatique*, of an actor, combining every histrionic quality and attainment, with a powerful imagination, a neat satiric pen, an unexceptionable character, and an independence in mind and fortune. His literary associates, were men who will never cease to be dear to learning and science; Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, Baretti, Boswell and other worthies who have shed a lustre on their country.

We proceeded to view Westminster Abbey: the depository of all that was great in arms, in arts, and in science. The weather was

excessively hot, and the damp air, on entering the Abbey, produced a chill, which was not allayed by a view of the tombs and sepulchres, by which I was surrounded. Westminster Abbey is built on the scite, where once stood the Temple of Apollo. To trace it from its origin, through the successive reigns of Roman, Saxon, Norman and British Kings ; to note its destruction, rebuilding, enlargements and endowments ; its saints, abbots and prebendaries, would occupy a folio volume. It is impossible to see it without veneration, or contemplate the monuments of illustrious men, without feeling a respect for the country that had wisdom to discern, and liberality to patronise genius. The architecture of the Abbey is gothic ; but the frequent alterations and additions, have created a strange mixture of styles. It is about 480 feet in length, with several aisles, which together with the nave, are supported by light pillars : two towers are built at the west end. We entered at the door facing the poets-corner ; a few poor women asked alms of us ; we were near the tomb of Shakspeare, and they followed our steps. A lean sepulchral looking man, with a red nose and a black rattan in his hand, was stationed to show us the curiosities ; he postponed his rounds until he could collect a larger company, and swell the aggregate of his fees ; he looked like the crier of the court of Rhadamanthus, and it was evident that he had not profited by being daily on visiting terms with the illustrious tenants of this mansion ; no ray of genius shot from his hollow eye, no spark of intellect lightened up his cadaverous countenance ; he stalked as it were from the tomb, to introduce us to his cotemporaries, and a biographical sketch of each tenant was given, with an air of apathy and indifference, which custom had rendered familiar. His place, as master of ceremonies in the abbey, I learnt was purchased, and a remuneration was had from the bounty of visitors. Every thing, I discovered subsequently, was on the same scale ; in London ; money was the grand talisman, indispensable to curiosity, or even the comforts of retirement. Our guide pointed out the tombs of several of the ancient nobility, whose rank and titles will be the daily theme, as long as visitors will pay for the description. We entered by a flight of steps to the chapel of Henry the 7th, where this king lies “ quietly inurned.” Taking into consideration the general parsimony of his life, it is surprising that he should have gone to the expense of so sumptuous a tomb ; but he discovered that the small chapel of Edward the confessor, was too crowded with royalty, to offer him sufficient room.

It is a splendid structure ; the gallant Richmond and his wife are there represented in effigy ; their figures are at full length in brass, which, together with the ornamental decorations of the tomb, are the work of Torresiano, a Florentine sculptor. At the north end are the remains of the two princes, Edward and York, who were smothered in the tower, by the command of Richard ; they were discovered during the reign of Charles the 2d, among the rubbish, under the stairs of the white tower, and by him piously transferred to this spot. Here also are deposited the remains of Elizabeth, the only great woman that ever governed in Great Britain ; and whose talents as a Queen, shed a lustre over the country. She was the rarest instance of mind, fortitude, confidence, and success, that we have recorded in the history of women. Near her, as if to mock the purposes of fate, lies Mary, Queen of Scots, the most unfortunate of her sex ; whom Elizabeth imprisoned from policy, and murdered from fear. She had been originally buried in the cathedral at Peterborough ; her son, when he obtained the crown, caused her remains to be removed, and placed near her former rival.

There are several tombs of the royal family, but few of the personages are distinguished, and we passed them by, with more haste than we should have done, had they been alive. In this chapel the knights of Bath are installed ; on each side of the nave are niches, or seats of carved wood, over them is a brass plate of their arms. The banners on which are emblazoned their names, titles &c. are tastefully arranged, and many a worthy fox hunter, whose life has been one useful scene of sporting, horse-racing, and cock-fighting ; who has run down many a hare, and cracked many a bottle, boasts of being a member of the most " noble order of Bath," and here their swords and helmets rest in peace, and I dare say will continue to do so. The lights of liberty and learning have made sad encroachments upon the customs of chivalry ; and the knights of old are at this day, as unfashionable as their armour. Our guide led us to the chapel of Edward the confessor, which was really confined. Here are the two chairs in which the kings of England are crowned, and what is still more curious from its age and simplicity, the coronation stone of the Scottish kings, which was brought from Scone. We passed through sundry aisles and niches, our ghost of a conductor flitting before each tomb, and describing their tenants with more " brevity" than " wit"—he finally stopped at a closet, brought out the cap of general Monk, shut his eyes and invited us

to put in what ever we pleased. Having received a fee on the immediate delivery of his valedictory, we escaped from our host of the abbey, and made our way to the poets-corner. The ancient tombs are preposterous and absurd : a whole length figure in marble is stiffly stretched on the summit of each, clad in armour, and a few others with hands elevated in prayer. These cumbrous and inelegant specimens of sculpture, convey a just idea of the rude and barbarous taste which prevailed in the darker ages : the modern monuments are light, and several of them finely executed ; Lord Mansfield's and Lord Chatham's, both of whom merited the best efforts of the chisel as well as the pen, are among the most splendid. Here also, a monument is erected to the unfortunate Major Andre, with whose history and virtues, the American people are familiar ; it is somewhat disfigured by rude and ignorant persons. A small sarcophagus is raised to the memory of Mr. Wragg, of South Carolina, who was drowned on his passage to England, having refused to abandon the royal cause during the revolutionary war. There is something grateful even in the remembrance of national sacrifices, and, however we may lament the infatuation, which could abandon a cause so just as ours, we have no right to impugn the motives. I spent near an hour in the poets-corner. Under the monument of Shakspeare, David Garrick lies buried ; nothing could be more judicious. Here was a beautiful monument to Addison, the best of men and scholars : there a tablet to Goldsmith, the most able and amiable of poets : here the name of Handel is inscribed, surrounded by the insignias of his profession ; and there reposed the ashes of Johnson, a colossus in literature, whose vigorous mind has done more for the English language, than any author of modern times. The eye, in its range through the corner, lights on the names of Spenser, Chaucer, Butler, Jonson, Davenant, Drayton, Gay, Dryden, Prior, Rowe, Thompson, Cowley, Mason, and others, no less illustrious ; all of which are calculated to awaken sensations of awe, and feelings of admiration and respect. These, in part, were the ancestors of our nation, and while we should endeavour to produce parallels, advance science and literature, and reward merit of our own, we have no occasion to be ashamed of our origin ; there is much to admire and imitate. Fox and Pitt, two great political rivals, lie peaceably together, under plain slabs, upon which are simply inscribed the initials of their names.

Strolling from Westminster Abbey, the most contiguous and celebrated building is the Hall, which bears the same name. This was part of the royal palace of Westminster, founded by Edward the confessor and established as his place of residence : it was built by William Rufus, and has served as a banqueting-room for all the British sovereigns. Henry the 3d, in 1236, feasted six thousand poor men, women, and children, on new year's day in this Hall ; an act of bounty, which subsequently, was not often repeated. In 1399, Richard the 2d, a weak king, and a " huge feeder," gave a dinner to ten thousand guests, among which, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were not forgotten. Branden gave an account of this feast ; and in the reign of this epicurean king, the first cookery book was written, to which Mrs. Hannah Glass must have been eminently indebted. The Hall is said to be the largest in Europe, without pillars ; being two hundred and seventy feet in length, and seventy in breadth ; it is paved with square flag stones, and is a cool retiring place. The roof is curiously supported by timbers, apparently of oak, carved into fret work and filigree, with angels and armorial bearings ; it is really extremely curious, and in the best specimens of gothic taste. Parliaments frequently sat in this Hall : at present there are several rooms branching from it, which lead to the courts of Kings-Bench ; chancery, common pleas, &c.—here king Charles was tried.—There were no courts sitting at the time, and I sincerely regretted it. The judiciary is that part of the government, which strangers contemplate with the greatest veneration and respect. In the courts of justice in Great Britain, that equality which is denied to men in other situations, is enjoyed in its fullest extent ; he participates equally in the benefits of the law, and has no cause to fear the uplifted hand of power, (except in the admiralty court) when shielded by a jury of his peers. The venerable judges who have shed so much lustre on British jurisprudence, will in pursuance of the same principles and policy, continue to perpetuate the blessings of a wise and well organized judiciary, as being the most enlightened and intelligent branch of the government.

I left the Hall to return to my lodgings—a view of the Strand at a busy hour, cannot fail to give a just idea of an over-populated metropolis like London ; one continued current of people, whose looks were full of business was setting rapidly up and down, and when the cross streets leading to the Thames, were impeded by heavy coal wagons and their powerful horses, the street was actually blockaded : every

body appeared in motion ; the “ morning employed in making money, and the afternoon in spending it.” The shops were ornamented, and decorated with the greatest taste ; the articles are displayed in the most alluring manner, and labels affixing their price, and indicative of their quality and cheapness, hold forth temptations to the passenger. The store-keepers are excessively obliging, and use their best exertions to obtain custom ; this is reduced to a perfect system, in consequence of the rivalry existing in so large a city—every thing wore the air of bustle and business, wealth and comfort.

I was near the Exchange, and entered to see this justly celebrated emporium of commerce. It originated from the spirit of a private citizen, Sir Thomas Gresham, who by his will bequeathed it, after the demise of his wife, to the mayor and citizens of London ; and to the company of mercers. It was destroyed by the great fire in 1666, and was rebuilt with much greater splendour and elegance ; the first stone of which was laid by Charles the second. It has two principal entrances ; the one from Cornhill, the other from Threadneedle-street : there are centre arches leading to the interior, which are not devoid of elegance, though some bad taste is discernible, from the mixture of several styles of architecture. The interior is quadrangular, upwards of two hundred feet in length, and seventy in breadth, surrounded by a spacious piazza and pillars, which supports the stone building above. Under this piazza, merchants from all quarters of the world are to be found ; and the difference of national costume, appearance and language, affords a pleasing and interesting variety, while it at once exhibits the ascendancy, and paramount advantages of commerce to the British nation. Here I conversed with a gentleman from Boston, there saw a merchant from China. Traders from Archangel frequented this walk, and residents of Buenos Ayres are to be found in that ; I met a Tunisian merchant who spoke English fluently ; he gave me a brief view of the kingdom, and the character of its rulers ; his information was valuable. Several statues are distributed throughout the exchange, representing various sovereigns ; the principal one was Charles the second, executed by Quillen of Antwerp ; there are also several *basso relevos*, arms of Ireland and Scotland, France and England quartered. Several offices and rooms for commercial objects are to be found in this building : which without being either light or splendid, are sufficiently elegant for the purpose, and when filled at the hour of business, present a cheering proof of the great and ma-

terial advantages which result from an extensive and well protected commerce. Nothing is easier than to be lost in London, even with a travelling map in your hand ; the city, built by accident, and governed by no specific plan, is complex and crooked ; the numerous alleys, lanes, passages, and streets intersecting each other, never fail to bewilder the passenger. I strayed into East Cheap, and thought of the Boar's-head and Sir John Falstaff, and determined to find it out. I accosted several persons in the street, who, after surveying me from head to foot with a vacant stupid stare, gave me no satisfaction : I applied at several stores with no better success. I thought I discovered it at last in a modern built house, in which a shoemakers shop was kept ; the owner of which, told me he believed the "*browns head, that muster Shakspeare wrote aboot was kept there ;*" I looked in but could not see the ancient room, the heavy oak chair in which Sir John reposed, or hear the shrill tones of Hostess Quickly, or perceive the fierce cocked hat of Pistol. I thought I heard a harsh voice exclaim—

"Bardolph brew me a pottle of sack."

Bar. With eggs ?

Falst. No simple—

It was imagination ; the inimitable Shakspeare and his still greater inimitable characters, revived the recollection of past times, and have hallowed each spot which his genius has dwelt upon.

The great theatres of Drury-lane and Covent Garden were closed ; but the summer theatre in the Strand, in which the companies of each performed was now open, as was also the Pantheon in Oxford-street. The British drama has evidently retrograded ; the introduction of those scenick anomalies, called melo dramas, which owe their existence to the gloomy imagination of the German. The ballet and decorations of the French, and the music of Italy, seem to have driven from the stage those chaste comedies, which so long have "held the mirror up to nature." The facility with which those melo dramas are got up, the relief of scenery, music and decoration, the agreeable melange presented to the eye, and the gratification they afford to the youthful part of the audience, constitute them the most profitable sources of amusement to managers ; hence the decay of talent ; few write a good tragedy or comedy, for there is not much encouragement held out to authors, who really possess abilities in that

department. Shiell and Maturin are the latest and most successful ; but while managers can have agents at Paris, Vienna or Berlin, they will not fail to seize on every foreign production, and reduce it to the standard of British taste.

The Lyceum is a small and somewhat confined theatre, being opened only in the summer. It was fashionably filled, but not crowded ; before me on a front seat sat four black gentlemen elegantly dressed, and comporting themselves with attention and respect, they were agents from St. Domingo, on business for the government, and were treated with great deference. A South Carolina friend, who was with me, eyed them with some curiosity, but without much complacency ; he was not familiarized to such scenes ; habit is difficult to overcome. It would be highly honourable to us, if our policy in the south, could, with safety, hold forth a greater equality of rights to the Blacks. The organization of the government of Hayti, the talents of the monarch and the cabinet, and the general system of morality and good faith, are examples highly creditable to the inhabitants ; and is at once a proof of that sound intellect, which for ages was denied by some writers to exist among them. The play was the Siege of Belgrade, the music of which, may be considered as the most scientific among modern operas. A Mr. and Mrs. T. Cooke, sustained the parts of the Seraskier and Catherine ; both were interesting persons, sung with taste and judgement, and were well received. I saw Mr. Liston, who is celebrated as a Comedian. His humour, however, is not broad ; he pleases by a certain quaintness of style, and an inflexibility of muscle, and is said to be a great favourite. The entertainment was a new piece from the pen of a Mr. Barker, called Sharp and Flat ; and here, for the first time, I had occasion to observe the effect of rivalry, among authors and theatres. The House was a scene of confusion ; whistles, cat-calls, shrieks and screams, prevented a word being heard ; it was all pantomime, and the actors were saluted by oranges, apples, and other missiles, the curtain dropped amidst these howlings ; and I heard the same play announced for the next evening, as if a riot of this nature had been confidently anticipated. I saw it afterwards tranquilly performed, it had no great defects which warranted a reception so uncourteous ; the music was very pretty, and a Miss Poole, whose person and voice were admirably adapted to her part, gave consi-

derable interest to the piece. There was one character in this entertainment, which did not seem to please the "million;" it was a sooth-sayer, who was confidently predicting events; among others, he announced that on a certain day the world was to be at an end, and the British navy destroyed the day after. This was the "puff direct," which the author, no doubt, expected would be rapturously received by his patriotic audience. He was in error; some events had lately occurred, which, in a measure, had cooled British enthusiasm, in relation to the navy, and the sentiment, instead of being applauded, was received by a few strange and uncouth sounding *baas*. The Lyceum has a handsome saloon, ornamented with a panoramic view of the city of St. Petersburg; and was crowded with the gay, beautiful, and licentious votaries of pleasure; and in such numbers, as to create no favourable idea of the morality of the metropolis.

I was surprised to find so many newspapers printed in London; it would appear that the stamp duty on the one hand, and the close application to business on the other, forbid the idea of a great newspaper patronage. I discovered, however, that, notwithstanding the pressure of various occupations, such was the avidity for news, that not less than 14,000 morning, and 12,000 evening papers, were sold; that 10,000 semi-weekly, 26,000 Sunday, and 20,000 of other weekly papers, were also disposed of; making in the aggregate, 222,000 copies per week; a number calculated certainly to disseminate every species of information; and these were exclusive of a vast number of periodical publications, and provincial papers. The newspapers in London, are mostly sold; subscribers are not altogether relied upon; they are supposed to yield, by sale and advertisements, \$30,000 per week, of which the government receives for duty, nearly one half. They afford employment to 60 writers and reporters, 400 printers, 200 venders or news-boys, 150 clerks and assistants, besides paper-makers, type founders, &c. The talents displayed in these papers, are various, and generally more than respectable; those patronised by the ministry, who occasionally write for them, are most read, though some of the papers in the opposition, are remarkable for a manly, and energetic style of complaint. The freedom of the press, of late, has been circumscribed by the ministry; it cannot, however, be effectually destroyed.

I proposed to myself much gratification, from a visit to the Tower, a fortress well known in the Domestic History of England, and an object of primary curiosity to all strangers. It was originally built by William the Conqueror, on a small scale ; the size of London at that period, and the general tranquillity and permanency of regal power, did not warrant a larger Fortress. In the course of eight centuries, it has so increased, as to resemble a small town, and being near the bridge, it may be considered as holding a commanding position. William Rufus, completed the wall around it, and ordered a deep and broad ditch to be cut ; and during the reigns of Henry the 1st, Richard the 1st, Henry the 3d, Edward the 4th, Henry the 8th, Elizabeth, and James, such additions, alterations and improvements were made, as to render the Tower a safe deposit for arms and accoutrements of war, prisoners of state, objects of ancient curiosity, the Crowns and Regalia of Great Britain, and occasionally, a residence for the monarchs.

I entered at one of the great gates, where a yeoman of the guards, dressed in fantastic and antique habiliments, accompanied us to explain the various objects. The most important room, in these days of war and revolution, was that in which the musquetry and small arms are deposited ; this was upwards of 350 feet in length, and contained 200,000 stand of arms, arranged in the most beautiful order, and apparently in the best-condition. The manufactory of guns, in the Tower, continued without intermission ; the war in the peninsula and the United States, required a constant supply ; particularly, as most of the Spanish and Portuguese troops used British arms. In addition to the musquets, a large supply of pistols, swords, and bayonets, were arranged in different forms about the room, and calculated to be taken down and used at a minutes warning. This room, in a military point of view, certainly was the most valuable ; the others being mere depositories of those antiquities and curiosities, which have for centuries been accumulating. We next visited what is called the Spanish Armory ; in which were the spoils obtained by the destruction of the celebrated Armada, in the reign of Elizabeth, consisting of spears, battle-axes and shields, together with thumb screws and instruments of torture, which have for so many centuries, been the disgraceful and ruinous policy of the Spanish government. Great glory and renown, were supposed to be acquired, by the destruction of this

expedition. If the power of the British, at that period; their loyalty and attachment to Elizabeth; and the example which this undaunted female exhibited to the world, are considered, joined to the loose character of Spanish expeditions generally; and those disasters of storm and shipwreck; the Armada may be said to have been nearly destroyed, before it reached the coast; still there was much to boast of, and the victory paved the way for greater success. A whole length figure of Elizabeth, in wax, is represented standing near her horse, at the period when she addressed the army at Tilbury; it is said to be a faithful resemblance; her face is not beautiful, but is nevertheless agreeable, and strongly marked with lines of those characters, for which she was distinguished. It is impossible to look on this figure, without interest, when reflecting on the great events produced by her reign, or the patriots and poets that flourished in her time. Her character and administration, have been studied by several female sovereigns; and Catherine de Medices, Maria Theresa, or Catherine of Russia, with all their respective merits, never combined qualifications, such as Elizabeth possessed.

The horse armory is an object of great curiosity. Here are the effigies of all the Kings of England, from William the conqueror, to George the 2d, on horseback and armed "cap a pe;" several of the suits of armour, having been worn by the Sovereigns themselves. They are arranged in due order, and surrounded by foot soldiers; armed also in the fashion of barbarous times; and together, presenting a spectacle of great interest, and illustrating the warlike caparisons of the rude ages. The invention of fire-arms, has effectually destroyed the use of these cumbrous and expensive accoutrements; while at the same time, the progress of military science, may be said to have checked the effusion of blood. The tactics of the present day, claim a decided preference. In the darker ages, when soldiers grappled each other, and shield locked in shield, the carnage was generally greater. There was more confidence also, in rushing to battle cased in armour, capable of resisting a blow from a sword or battle axe. There is more true valour in the present system, when cannon and musquetry are bravely opposed, by uncovered battalions, which march fearlessly and steadily to battle. A view of this assemblage of kings and conquerors, revives the recollection of those important events, occurring in their respective reigns; and the battles

of Cressy, Agincourt and Ramillies, with their accompanying results, passed rapidly over the mind. There are many trifling objects, calculated to excite great interest ; in particular, the axe with which Anne Boleyn was beheaded : this lay on the sill of one of the high-arched windows, an object of indifference ; it has a short oaken handle, the edge is sharp, and the whole shaped like a common cleaver. There is nothing curious in the axe, it is the purposes to which it has been applied, that awaken recollections and sympathy. Poor Anne Boleyn, innocent and lovely, had the misfortune to “ outlive the liking of a king,” who should have been a Musselman, instead of a “ defender of the faith.” Henry the 8th, whom posterity has never ceased to detest, was inexorable in his hatred ; the protestations of innocence addressed to him, from this Tower, by his lovely victim, made no impression upon a heart, callous to justice or mercy. She was beheaded on the 19th of May, 1536,—“ I have a small neck,” said she with a smile, and embracing her neck with her hands, “ and if the executioner is expert, I shall not give him much trouble.” I passed my finger over the edge of the axe, and shuddering laid it down ! If the exercise of such acts of tyranny be delegated to kings, by divine permission ; and tolerated by man, as a matter of duty, reason, philosophy, and energy, should unite to exhibit the “ divine right of kings,” in true colours. Kinston, who was keeper of the Tower, declared that he never saw any person suffer with fortitude equal to Anne Boleyn.

This tower, so celebrated as a prison, for state criminals : has witnessed the execution of many illustrious victims. The first that we have on record, was Sir Simon de Burly, Knight of the Garter, who was an active partizan of Richard the 2d. When the popular voice was raised against this weak king, his early friend and tutor, stepped forth in his defence ; but the predominant faction seized upon him ; and in 1383 he lost his head. Fitzalon, Earl of Arundel, was also beheaded in 1397. Hastings, had his head chopped off, by the sudden and vindictive order of the ‘ crooked back’d Richard.’ In the reign of Henry the 8th, the Bishop of Rochester, who would not follow his sovereign in the work of apostacy, also suffered ; and on the 6th of July, 1535, the great and good Sir Thomas More, whose life was one scene of mildness and integrity, lost his head on this spot. Cromwell, the worthy and devoted secretary of Cardinal Woolsey, also suffered ; and the countess of Salisbury, the last of the

Plantagenets, being condemned to die, refused to lay her head on the block ; and was struck down on the scaffold, by repeated blows from the executioner. Henry not yet satiated with blood, brought his fifth wife, Catharine Howard, to the scaffold. In 1549, Seymour, Lord high Admiral, lost his head by command of his brother the Protector, Somerset ; and in 1552 the Protector himself, in the same place, yielded up his life. Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, followed next in those days of turbulence and revolution ; and then came two victims, whose fate excited the highest interest ; Lady Jane Grey, and her husband Lord Dudley. This was a cruel and unmerited execution ; at the age of seventeen ; mistress of all the dead, and nearly all the living languages ; accomplished, learned, and beautiful, she fell a victim to the ambitious views of others ; occupied the same room in the Tower, as Anne Boleyn ; suffered on the same spot ; and was executed with her husband on the 12th of January, 1553. The Earl of Essex, the favorite of Elizabeth, was here unwillingly consigned by his mistress to the Block. The Duke of Monmouth, also was beheaded in 1685. Lord Balmerino, a uniform patriot ; Lord Kilmarnock ; and Lord Lovat, were the last victims to the ferocious policy of the times, in the Tower.—Independent of the public executions, these dark apartments have witnessed many private murders ; many unfortunate victims have been secretly incarcerated, and have here ended a life of trouble and captivity. Richard the 3d, murdered the good king Henry the 6th ; and Clarence fell a victim to the ambition of his brother Gloster ; here, also, the two children, Edward and York, were smothered. These, and other scenes of assassinations, tortures, and cruelties, have given a disgraceful and infamous fame to this Fortress.

I left the room, which revived the recollection of these atrocities, to visit what is called the Jewel-office, in which the Crowns are deposited. In a small stone room, strongly grated with iron bars, looking like a prison, full of damps and mildews, were deposited the “ round and top of sovereignty ;” together with all the regalia, or paraphernalia of royalty. I remained outside of the grate, while an old woman exhibited the various crowns, sceptres, and diadems—nothing could be more appropriate—an old hag, full of age and ugliness, pent up in a close room ; and by the light of a solitary candle, took from a closet these splendid Jewels. Here was the imperial crown,

which for 700 years, had covered the heads of British monarchs ; and for which so much blood has been shed ; it was richly adorned with gems of every description, and was of inestimable value, intrinsically—A golden Globe, held in the hand of the king, at his coronation, emblematical of his power over the world ; though probably, at the time, it did not extend beyond the walls of the metropolis ; sceptres, gold salt-cellars, spurs, bracelets, and a golden eagle, which contained the *holy unction*, with which the king is anointed ; a small crown for the Prince Regent, and one called Queen Mary's crown ; and a golden walking-cane of Edward the Confessor, constituted the extent of the furniture in this small apartment ; and for the exhibition of which, the little old woman claimed, and received a moderate recompense. Here was an immense sum, locked up in useless ornaments, while the people daily complained of privations and taxes.

From the Jewel office, we were conducted to the Menagerie, where several Lions, Tygers, and other wild beasts are kept ; and which, together, form a very interesting collection. These were the last objects viewed in the Tower ; and I passed through the heavy Portcullis, casting a look at the various rooms with grated windows, which had been the prisons of many illustrious victims. Altogether, the Tower cannot be viewed without interest ; it is a collateral evidence of history, and the chronology can be closely followed, and exemplified by the various objects deposited therein.

Passing down Leadenhall-street, and by the India House, I was attracted by a number of Chinese and Lascars, who, under the portico of this building, mingled with Turks, Spanish and British seamen ; altogether forming a curious variety. I entered to examine the rooms of this great trading company, which seem to have entered all Asia, its Nabobs and Rajahs, on their legers. They are spacious and accommodating, and give at once a general idea of the magnitude of this trade. The destruction of the India trade by the way of the Red Sea and the Nile ; and the doubling of the cape of Good Hope, seem to have thrown the greatest portion of this trade, into the hands of the British. It may be questionable, whether it would be any advantage to have the former sources of the trade opened. Even admitting that the Musselmen in Egypt, would af-

ford every facility, yet the difficult navigation of the Red Sea—the transportation of cargoes down the Nile in flat bottomed boats—the badness of the roads and anchorage at Alexandria ; and the tedious navigation down the Mediterranean, would be no economy in time, and no advance in profit. Russia from the Black Sea, and Sea of Azoph, may find an easy passage to China and India, but the trade never can be effectually turned into that channel. The exchange of commodities, the deficiency of precious metals, and the limited consumption of India goods, unite to give to Great Britain and America, the preponderance of the India trade. The immense army maintained by the company in India, and the frequent wars and revolutions, in that distant and extensive country, must circumscribe their profits. It is rather extraordinary, how a population so numerous, and capable of resistance, could permit a foreign nation so effectually to curb their independence. If civilization and learning be encouraged, the British sway in India must eventually be checked. The renewal of their charter, gave rise to animated debates in Parliament ; which, however, was not effected, until the company agreed to yield something of their monopoly. Their revenue does not fall short of three millions sterling ; they export nearly two millions, employ 42,000 tons of shipping, and 3700 persons : this, therefore, may be considered the most extensive incorporation in the world.

From the East India House, I paid a visit to Guild-Hall. This is a very celebrated edifice, and is appropriated to the service of a very independent body of citizens ; namely, the municipality of London. The charter of this city was conferred on the citizens, by William the Conqueror ; which was written in the Saxon language, and comprised but four lines, written upon a slip of parchment, six inches in length, and one in breadth ; it is still carefully preserved. To give an idea of the brevity of a legal document of such great importance, the following is the translation : “ William the king, greets William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreeve ; and all the Burgesses, within London, both French and English. And I declare, that I grant you to be all *law worthy*, as you were in the days of King Edward the Confessor. And I grant that every child shall be his father’s heir, after his father’s days ; and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep you.” There were several other charters, and extension of rights and privileges sub-

sequently granted, from time to time, by different sovereigns. About the year 1284, the city was divided into twenty-four wards, having each an Alderman ; at that period, the Common Council consisted of forty-four members. There are at present twenty six aldermen, and two hundred and thirty-six Common Council-men ; a number, which exemplifies the increase of the city. This Hall was commenced in 1411, and has a gothic arch for an entrance, built with good taste. In the Hall, which is first entered, are handsome monuments to Nelson and Pitt ; together with several others, equally well executed. Two colossal figures, facing the entrance, known as *Gog* and *Magog*, the celebrated Giants of Guild-Hall, are representatives of the force and character of municipal power ; it is but fair to consider them as typical, for they are a pair of uncouth figures, whatever may have been their origin. There are several ancient portraits in the Hall ; particularly that of the great and good Sir Matthew Hale. Several offices are kept in this Hall, relating to the city ; and the banqueting-room is adorned with splendid paintings, by the best masters.

On my return to my lodgings, I found a note from Mr. Beasley, American agent, informing me, that the government had made known to him, that it would be very agreeable, for me to leave the country. There was no resisting this polite invitation, and I made preparation for my departure for Falmouth. This was a prompt and unexpected decision, though not an unwelcome one ; and I lost no time in hastening to view the most prominent objects of curiosity, which yet remained unvisited. I called by appointment, on Mr. West ; this venerable citizen, occupies the attention of every American ; he is considered the property of our country, placed in a foreign land, as a standard of taste and talent, and a guide for his compatriots. I found him employed in painting that admirable picture, which now adorns the walls of the Pennsylvania Hospital. The first painting which he had finished for that Institution, his friends and patrons would not permit to leave the country ; and he had disposed of it for a considerable sum. I remained two hours with him, and that time was principally devoted to conversation on arts and sciences, and a recapitulation of the advantages, which our country holds forth to talent ; and the prospect now afforded of producing great painters ; he spoke in handsome terms of several, who had visited London for improvement, and who

were pursuing their studies, under his direction. No individual has been of so much service to the fine arts of our country ; and none has so large a portion of the general esteem. He spoke of visiting the United States, his attachment to which had not decreased ; but his advanced age forbids the hope of seeing him amongst us.

I left this worthy and intelligent man, with admiration of his talents, uncommon industry, and perseverance ; and sentiments of respect and esteem, for his mild and amiable qualities. I strayed through Bond-street, that lounge of fashion, without any thing of its elegance. Never has a street been more celebrated with less claims : there is, in fact, nothing to admire in it ; neither could I perceive those anomalies of extravagance among the *beau monde*, which are represented to locate in this quarter. Every thing was plain and neat ; and I perceived no very great disparity, between the dress, air, and fashion, here, and in our country. Indeed it is the similarity of habits and customs, which renders London an object of indifference to Americans. After having viewed the principal curiosities, and become in a measure familiar with the city, it ceases to interest. I was tired of hearing the English language spoken, and living in the same manner as I did at home. I passed through some of the noble squares, which ornament the west end of the town, and which present an unequalled view of superb mansions, built with taste and simplicity, and in the most light style of architecture. This undoubtedly is the finest part of London, and the most tranquil and retired. I was in Oxford-street as evening approached, and strolled into the Pantheon. This Theatre, occasionally used for masquerades, was originally built with much splendour ; but was destroyed by fire in 1792. It is a large and elegant building, and highly ornamented and embellished. A play was performing by an indifferent company of comedians, and to a thin house. I observed, that during the performance, one of the musicians, was employed in running his fingers over the keys of the piano forte, without producing any connection of notes, yet was sufficiently loud to disturb the performance. On my inquiring into the object of this curious step, I learnt that the Pantheon was only permitted to exhibit operas by their patent ; and while they were performing a comedy, in which there was no music or singing, it was decided that a few notes from the orchestra during the acts, were all that was required by the patent, in its technical construction. So much for the facility of eva-

ding the letter of the law, by a mere confirmation to its spirit. I paid a visit to Somerset-House, a superb palace, built by the Protector Somerset, and now used for public offices, and for several learned institutions. It is situated on the south side of the Strand, and was commenced in 1549. On the site which it now occupies, several churches were originally built, which the Lord Protector, in his rapacious views, and general hostility to the Church, demolished, to gratify a vanity, that was not long indulged, in rearing this splendid mansion. It subsequently became the property of the crown, and the court was held here for a length of time. Cowley and Waller, have celebrated this palace in some smooth verses ; and Wilson relates, that Anne of Denmark, wife of James 1st, held her court here, which “ was a continual masquerade, where she, and the ladies her attendants, like so many sea nymphs or nereides, appeared in various dresses to the ravishment of the beholders.” Queens have mended their manners since that period, and they now may be considered, generally, as ladies of good character. The most beautiful part of Somerset-House, is the front towards the garden, designed by Inigo Jones, which is free from that false taste in the mixture of the Grecian and Gothic architecture, which has been introduced so generally in England. Here are the rooms of the Royal Society ; an institution, which has done every thing for arts and sciences, and which ranks among its members, the greatest men of every country : and here also, is the Academy of Arts.

The private collection of paintings in England, is very extensive and valuable ; this however, has not checked the prosperity and progress of the Academy, which not only has produced great painters, but continues to give every encouragement to genius. Of this Academy, Mr. West is President, which, it may be said, has derived from his exertions, the greatest portion of its merit. There was no exhibition at that period ; and I was debarred the gratification of viewing those artists and amateurs, who have so eminently contributed to the glory of their country.

Circumscribed as I was for time, I used all possible expedition in my visit. Every object of curiosity, hospitals and theatres—prisons and colleges—churches and tea gardens—promenades and shops—docks and manufactures—hotels and musical conservatories, were each visited in rapid succession, without order or opportunity, to gather satisfactory information. London is rich in objects of curi-

osity : its learned institutions and charitable societies, constitute the brightest feature in its character. I strayed into White-Hall chapel ; the soldiers who were opposite in the Park, had just changed the guard, marched in with regularity and order, and took their seats in the gallery. The chapel is neat and commodious : the ceiling is elegantly adorned with figures, said to be by Reubens ; tattered banners, are suspended from the gallery, filled with dust, and blackened by age. Two American colours, taken at the battle of Queenstown, are hung up amongst them, which by their freshness, heighten the contrast. Out of one of the windows of the building, a platform was erected, on which Charles the 1st was beheaded. An elegant picture of this unfortunate sovereign by Vandyke, hangs in the passage. His body had been lately discovered in good preservation ; and it is said that the likenesses generally taken of him were correct.

There are no very strong traits of character, which mark the difference between the Englishman and the American ; speaking the same language, possessing the same religion, pursuing the same habits, and boasting of the same origin, they are only distinct in peculiarities ; national feelings, and the ethereal spirit, may be said to be more fully enjoyed by the Americans than by the English. This, in part, may be attributed to the difference of climate, and an elasticity of mind ; together, with a greater familiarity with public affairs, and enjoying a greater portion of rational liberty ; for, though the English boast of being the only free people on earth, the greatest portion of this liberty, is enjoyed in imagination. Where representation is shackled, and inequality distributed, as it is in England ; where the people cannot lighten the burdens imposed upon them, and where the press shrinks from the oppression of the law ; the liberty spoken of, is empty and evanescent. Personal rights, however, are securely protected and enjoyed, and when an Englishman boasts of his liberty, he alludes to his individual liberty, and his privilege of speaking his mind freely, and going where he pleases.

There is no spirit, which prevails with so much force, as an attachment to wealth ; not that sordid attachment, which hoards up riches without their enjoyment ; but a blind passion, a diseased infatuation, which considers money as the sole desideratum—the only constituent to happiness—the only harbinger of rank and talents. In England, the poor man is the poorest creature in exis-

tence, the mere cypher in society. The cultivated and accomplished mind, and the splendid genius, receive no deference if clothed in rags ; hence, persons are induced to assume appearances, that they can ill afford, to keep alive the countenance of the world : talent is no doubt encouraged, but it passes first through the ordeal of fashion, or is ushered into existence, through the aid of patrons ; men assume an independence in circumstances, that they do not feel, they continue to court the smiles and good opinion of their neighbours, by a display which their circumstances do not warrant ; led on by a false pride, and false maxims of society, they continue to consume their means gradually, and in the decline of life, they are left to penury and want. If you are introduced to the friendship of a man, his eye keenly and rapidly passes over your dress, examines each ornament, and calculates from appearances, on your wealth, and capability to become his equal. In every rank of life, this scrutiny will be found, and the sacrifices made to appearances in society, the false grounds on which fame and credit are established in England, are ever objects of animadversion. Money, therefore, in London, is indispensable, and you require more of it for mere comforts, as well as pleasures of life, than in any other city ; but at the same time, money there compensates for many defects in mind and person ; it brightens a stranger's talent, and gives force and character to his genius ; it converts stupidity into fancy and imagination, dulness into wit ; in short, it is an infallible mantle, which covers every defect. Money, in London, passes for more than its value, though it produces less of the real pleasures and benefits of life.

The Englishman, fortified by insurmountable habits, views every other nation with cold indifference ; there is no freedom, no institutions, no mode of life so perfect and agreeable, he will tell you, in any other country. Reserved and frequently haughty, they keep foreigners of equal, and sometimes of better mind and qualifications, at a distance, and are deficient in those soft traits, which distinguish a people at once urbane and polite. There is, nevertheless, a sincerity in the friendship of an Englishman, which covers many of his defects ; his acts of kindness are extensive and permanent, and when friendship is formed, it is generally predicated on a basis of unlimited confidence ; they make but few professions, but their actions are frequently worthy of admiration ; to acquire this friendship, you must be long known, thoroughly tested, and go through all

the formalities of coldness, repulsion, and haughtiness, before smiles, cordiality, or favour arrives. The English never give credit by anticipation, they must know you well, and you must be content to undergo a probation, if you are desirous of securing their friendship and good will.

English women, have not received from foreign writers, that credit due to their mind, virtues, and person : and although they do not command equal influence with the French, Spaniards, and Italians ; although they cannot boast of extraordinary interest at court, they are not less qualified to counsel and controul. With minds generally well cultivated, which are sound without brilliancy, sentimental without affectation, and liberal without prejudice, they may be considered as superior to the men in many of the relations of life. An English woman prides herself upon her domestic qualities, which however humble, are indispensable to real happiness ; they seem to know their sphere, and are more than respectable in the bosoms of their family. To complexions the most dazzling, and faces generally beautiful, they unite a disproportion of figure, an awkward gait, and ungraceful mode of dress ; they read, principally, light desultory works, and the age of great women in England, may be considered as having passed away ; a few celebrated novel writers are all they can now boast of. In London, we live much in the same way as in America, and habits and manners do not differ essentially. To an American, therefore, after visiting the principal objects of curiosity, this city ceases to be interesting ; an overgrown capital, with a population equally overgrown ; a climate humid, but not unwholesome ; crowded streets ; and bustle of business ; present variety, without producing interest. The approach of night, introduces a new, and the worst portion of its inhabitants, who shun the day, and give evidence of that depravity, long known to exist in London ; and this portion of residents neither the severity of law, nor the rigid surveillance of the Police, prevents from pursuing a general course of turpitude and crime. There are several walks and promenades, which are exceedingly beautiful ; and among the gardens, it may be questionable, whether one equal to Vauxhall, in taste and splendour, is to be found in any part of the world. To view Vauxhall on a gala evening, filled with a numerous and fashionable audience, illuminated by thousands of variegated lamps, and full and effective orchestras, the scenes of enchantment seem realised. A-

mong the theatres, those of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, have long held a distinguished rank ; they are splendid buildings, highly ornamented and embellished, though I was compelled to see them in the day, and consequently to some disadvantage. To give a detailed account of every object of curiosity in London, would of itself occupy a volume, and require no inconsiderable time in visiting. Among the last places of curiosity, which occupied my attention, was Saint Paul's Church, one of the most beautiful specimens of architecture in this city, and probably, next to St. Peter's Church at Rome, the finest in the world ; but placed in a narrow space, without the advantage of perspective, and cramped in its position and situation. Here are several well executed monuments, particularly two of Dr. Johnson and Howard ; as usual, we paid to see the curiosities, in this Cathedral, and without the talisman, every door would have been closed upon us.

I took my departure from London, after a few weeks residence, not highly pleased, nor yet dissatisfied. With several prejudices eradicated, and with a more favourable opinion of the people, their customs, habits, and manners, than I had hitherto been taught to anticipate ; there is much for disapprobation, much to admire, and much to respect, and withal something to disgust ; yet on the whole, an American who visits London, with a desire to be pleased with the people, and the city, will not come away disappointed ; he will see a moral industrious community, with many honorable institutions, indulging a spirit of intolerance towards every other nation, and in part to their own citizens ; he will see a government, powerful in itself, and calculated to make the people happy, pursuing a system in relation to foreign affairs, at once injudicious and impolitic, and wasting their resources in trying times, to liberate continental powers, who intend to be their commercial rivals ; he will perceive with regret, that a spirit of commercial and manufacturing monopoly, is undermining the constitution of state and people, and altogether, will feel satisfied, that Great Britain at the present day, has reached the zenith of her glory, and every attempt to add to her present stock, will diminish her resources, and create a decay of her power. With less continental influence, and more domestic efforts, she would find her independence and happiness strengthened, and a decrease of their great national debt, would be the first step, towards securing domestic tranquillity, and internal prosperity.

I left London, by the same road I entered it, and passed once more through Bath, Bristol, and Plymouth, directing my course towards Falmouth, in order to embark for Spain, not having succeeded in obtaining permission to cross over to France. We stopped a day in Truro, a neat and extremely pleasant town in Cornwall ; in the evening, a musical conservatorio was held, at which Madame Catalini assisted, and for the first time, I had an opportunity of hearing a display of vocal powers, such as I cannot persuade myself have ever been equalled. Madame Catalini is tall, and well proportioned, though thin, her face is Italian, a long Roman nose, large black eyes, a clear brown complexion, fine teeth, and an air of bewitching softness and modesty ; which are additional charms to her great talents. I was prepared to hear something extraordinary, her voice far exceeded my expectations. It was sacred music, she began the *Gloria Patria*, with full heightened tones, clear as a bell, her cadences inexpressibly sweet, her thrill clear and soft, without effort or contortion of features, her management, at once, scientific and extraordinary ; she was the greatest phenomenon in music, I had ever beheld. *God save the King*, was sung by the whole company in conclusion, and the voice of Madam Catalini, was distinctly heard, towering over all, and far excelling the notes of the various instruments.

We proceeded to Falmouth, an old crooked and dirty town, the depot for all the packet boats, and alighted at one of the best Inns situated on the margin of the water. I learnt that no packet would sail for Cadiz for a week, or ten days, and had therefore, no prospect of spending that time pleasant or profitable. I called on Mr. Robert Fox, a quaker, and who for many years had been American consul for that port. This worthy man, who is an object of general respect, interested himself to procure a passage for us, and assisted us through all the formalities, and frequently, difficulties of the Custom-House : he has a large family and is a man of wealth. Although brought up in a city, where many of the denomination of Friends resided, I had never a favourable opportunity until now, of studying their character. They are indeed a worthy community, meriting the respect and good will of mankind. Prejudices have been created against the quakers, for an apparent selfishness of conduct, and devotion to the peculiar forms and ordinances of their religion. Society in its corrupt state, has combined to strengthen those prejudices. In a political point of view the Quakers are no great

auxiliary, to a country ; living in a monarchy, they evince an intolérant disposition, towards sovereigns and nobility ; and in a republic they take no interest in affairs of government, they bear no arms, pay no tythes ; they contribute to the support of the state by taxation, which is the extent of their nationality ; they form no confederacies, plot no treasons ; in their religion they are mild and tolerant ; in their transactions honest, and judicious ; in short they are primitive and orthodox in their faith, and in their domestic relations, conciliating, affectionate, charitable, and humane. I could not but admire the simplicity with which Mrs. Fox, among other questions, asked what had become of John Jay, whom George Washington had once sent as a Minister to Great Britain, and who was a very worthy man. I here met with the Rev. Mr. Owen, the Secretary of the British Bible Society, a clergyman of singular talents and eloquence, and who has been very active in promoting the advantages of that institution. He informed me that Bibles had been printed in the Arabic language, and expressed a wish to have some introduced among the Musselmén. I readily promised him any assistance, in forwarding an object so laudable ; but I discovered on my arrival among the Turks, that the introduction of the Bible would be extremely dangerous, and that any innovation on their religion, would be attended with serious consequences.

A Packet arrived from Lisbon, which brought two American gentlemen from that place ; they had been at Cadiz a short time, and I procured much information from them, respecting affairs in that quarter. We paid a visit to Pendennis Castle. This is a strong Fortress, built by Henry 8th, on an eminence, and for position, equally strong and commanding. The ascent is easy, by a good road, flanked on each side by rocks and precipices. From the heights, the view of the surrounding country is extremely beautiful ; the spacious and elegant bay, with the shipping and town to the right, to the left the mountains of Cornwall, in front the sea, and the gradual sloping of the mountains, interspersed with the batteries, securing the entrance of the harbour, give to the whole an air of interest and variety. This Castle had made a good defence against Cromwell, by Sir Peter Killigrew, a very gallant knight, to whom a plain monument is erected in Falmouth. We passed our time in dull monotony for several days ; the town affords no amusement, and to a stranger is insufferably tedious. At length an order was

received for the Diana Packet, capt. Parsons, to proceed to Cadiz, first touching at Corunna ; and we went on board early in the morning, and left the harbour with a good breeze. We were on deck, as the Castle, and the low point of land, gradually receded from our view ; and thus terminated my short visit to England: a visit that I by no means regret ; as it afforded me an opportunity, to become somewhat acquainted with a nation, to whom we are allied by strong ties, and which will ever constitute an interesting object in our national policy. I left them with more favourable impressions, in regard to character, institutions, morality, and religion, than I had previously taught myself to expect.

Our disputes with Great Britain have not been suddenly produced ; they may be traced to the war of the Revolution ; a war, commenced during the reign of the present monarch, and kept alive in his memory, and the memory of all attached to the principles of his administration. These causes of hostility, were swelled in the progress of time, by a variety of political events, each, tending in a measure, to shackle our relations, and to lead to a second war. Could it be otherwise ? The separation of the American colonies from the mother country, was severely felt by Great Britain. A whole nation, inhabiting a vast extent of territory, which combines immense advantages of soil, climate, and commercial depots ; was at once released from a colonial government, and declared sovereign and independent. The British saw a portion of the most enterprising of their own countrymen, assisting to advance a great empire, rejecting the defects of an old system, and adopting all its excellencies ; attracting by a coincidence of habits, manners, religion, laws and language, a powerful emigration ; which, in weakening the resources of the British, added new impulse to the successful progress of our country. They saw our flag in every quarter of the world ; they discerned in the progress of our navy, in our works of defence, in our internal improvements, and the increase of the confederacy, the germs of a powerful, and rival nation ; whose advancement, their safety required to be checked. In the adoption of measures to effect this object, they completely failed. As early as the period when Jay's treaty was formed, they fixed upon their policy of commercial restrictions, in preference to a more successful prosecution of open warfare. Our country, just emerged from the chaos and perplexing difficulties of a long and tedious war, bent to the storm,

and dexterously avoided its effects ; that at the present day, the people with one voice would oppose, the people then, thought prudent to adopt. We remonstrated, but without effect. Superadded to colonial restrictions, new questions of difficulty arose, on the subject of impressment; a subject, which was perfectly well understood by both parties ; was felt in all its force by the American people, and weakly defended by the British : we continued to remonstrate, and what was of great moment to us, continued to gain time. We now see the injudicious policy of the British in all its force ; they wanted war, but wanted firmness to declare it. They continued their commercial restrictions, their orders in council, and self constituted doctrines of blockade ; we retaliated, and gained strength with time. What the cabinet at St. James' must have anticipated, eventually took place ; confiding in the justice of our cause, and perceiving no termination to the oppressive acts of injustice, war was eventually declared, twenty years after good and sufficient cause had been given ; and in which time, the nation from infancy, had acquired the nerve and stamina of manhood. The manner in which this war has been conducted, and the results it has produced, cannot fail to satisfy Europe of our ability to maintain our independence with our arms ; while it has proved the sufficiency of our form of government, for every national vicissitude. We cannot, therefore, be in error, when we consider the British nation, from all these causes, as our permanent enemy : not indeed of that exterminating character, which distinguished the hatred between Rome and Carthage, but as a power which perceives in us a rival nation ; once their subjects, now their equals ; on receiving our laws from them, now enjoying the independence of our own ; with a population nearly equal to theirs, and territory and resources, far superior : with an extensive commerce and increasing manufactures ; with unity in sentiment, and in action ; and a perfect devotion to the liberal institutions of our country, it cannot be, but that the British Government must view us with uneasiness ; not to say with enmity and ill will ; and though their policy and safety, may not induce them to encroach immediately on our rights, yet nature always true to its general course, together with individual and national feelings, forbids us to hope, that the time will ever arrive, when Great Britain will view the United States with confidence, or attachment ; or, that she will not be prepared to embrace an opportunity, to check our progress, or mar our national prosperity. Our policy is simple and comprehen-

sive ; good faith to all nations, and a strict regard for our own rights ; and by erecting fortifications, strengthening our line of coast, judiciously increasing our navy, arming and disciplining our militia, we shall be ever prepared for war ; and these preparations may be instrumental, in connection with our national policy, to secure the respect, confidence, and good will, of European powers generally.

PART II.

SPAIN.

OUR Packet was an American built vessel, commodiously fitted, and the captain, a rough, but capable seaman. We had an English, a Dutch, an Austrian, a French, and an American passenger, who constituted an agreeable medley of national character. On the morning of the third day, we made the harbour of Corunna, into which we passed with a pleasant breeze. This sea-port, the capital of Gallicia, is well defended by two Castles, which, though rather decayed, are nevertheless capable of making an efficient resistance. A Spanish officer stood at one of the embrasures, and hailed us in broken English as we passed within pistol shot ; we rounded the point, and came to anchor in a spacious bay, where several ships of various flags were moored, and a variety of small craft. The town laid before us, divided into two quarters, upper and lower ; we discerned several spires of churches, and heavy walls of Convents and Monasteries, houses with flat roofs, small fishing-boats drawn up on the beach, hills rising one above the other in irregular succession, with little or no cultivation. An uncommon silence, occasionally interrupted by the chiming of a Convent Bell, and persons indolently straying near the landing, satisfied us that Corunna was declining in mercantile consequence. Near the city, the important battle, between the English and French, was fought ; in which, Sir John Moore was killed. On an eminence, overlooking the town, a monument is erected to his memory, by order of Bonaparte—an act of generosity, characteristic of that great and unfortunate man. This battle was one of the most early efforts made by the English, in Spain ; and, notwithstanding it was succeeded, in the course of that revolution, by many brilliant victo-

ries, I have never ceased to believe, that this battle, though it resulted unfavourably, was highly creditable to the English. A fatality seemed to attend that army, from its first entrance into the Spanish territory—harrassed by superior forces, its movements were rendered perplexing and difficult, by misrepresentations and bad direction. After a long and most tedious retreat, the engagement took place under circumstances the most discouraging. It is evident, that Sir John Moore was deceived by representations of the spirit and patriotism of the Spaniards, which at that period did not exist; and, it may be reasonably inferred, that they threw every obstacle in the way of his successful progress. There were some acts of a suspicious character, emanating from persons in the British service, and on the whole, through that disastrous affair, the brave general had to contend with unexpected difficulties. It is impossible to view the hills, on which the French and English battalions appeared, without interest; or, contemplate the monument, erected in honor of the gallant chief, without a sigh for departed valour. He was a soldier of great worth; and was hastily interred, as the last file of the retreating army had taken to their ships.

“Not a drum was heard, nor a funeral note,
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot,
O’er the grave, where our hero we buried.

We buried him darkly, at dead of night,
The sods with our bayonets turning,
By the struggling moon-beam’s misty light,
And the lantern dimly burning.

No useless coffins enclosed his breast,
Not in sheet nor in shroud we bound him,
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him.

But half of our heavy task was done,
When the clock tolled the hour for retiring,
And we heard the distant and random gun,
That the foe was suddenly firing.

Slowly and sadly we laid him down,
From the field of his fame fresh and gory,
We carved not a line, we raised not a stone,
But we left him alone with his glory.”

London paper.

Our captain went on shore with the mail, but could not grant us permission to accompany him. A boat put off for the packet, and presently, a smart Spanish girl, with two or three monks, got on board. The girl was a clear brunette, with large piercing eyes, and good teeth; excessively lively, and spoke some English. She had on a cloth petticoat, somewhat short; a tight jacket, and her hair in a net or *redicalla*. The monks or friars, wore long black robes, loosely fitted, and inordinate sized hats or *sombreros*, rolled up on each side. I could not imagine the nature of their visit, until going forward, near the forecastle, I saw the seamen selling them various articles of British manufactures, such as cotton stockings, handkerchiefs, &c. which the girl, and her aids, the friars, were *piously* employed in concealing about their persons. I asked the Spanish girl, how she contrived to get them on shore without detection—"I smuggles them, Senor," said she, with the utmost *nonchalance*, at the same time forcing a bundle of stockings into one of her large pockets. "But are you not discovered occasionally?" said I. "O no," she replied, "the Custom-House officers, when they see me, turn their backs, and close one eye; but I share with them, cavalero," said the girl, with an arch look, "I am not greedy; I smuggle and then divide." An apt confession thought I, and no doubt a true one; from which, a correct idea may be drawn of Spanish Custom-House officers. The party having concluded their lawful avocations, got in the boat; the girl shook her head, accompanied with the salutation of a *bon voyage*; the monks touched their hats, and they rowed towards the shore. The long cloaks and hoods of the friars, are admirably adapted for the purpose of smuggling; their sacred character, or the terrors of the inquisition, prevents them from being searched, though ever objects of suspicion; and thus they *piously* carry on a profitable contraband trade. Our captain brought on board, a Spanish Marquis and Marchioness, with their baggage bound to Cadiz. The marquis had been an officer in the army, and had fought against the French; though by his conversation, he did not appear to entertain an unfavourable opinion of his enemy. Her ladyship had an agreeable countenance, and was somewhat reserved; she carried a small lap-dog under her arm, and a guitar in her hand; and, probably in anticipation of sea sickness, she lost no time in sewing a long ribbon to the collar of her little favourite; and then, very composedly, laid herself in her birth in the front cabin, where for three days she was confined by illness; and we saw nothing of her

or her dog. On the fourth, we sailed calmly along the coast of Portugal, and came in view of the convent of Maфра. This is an extensive, and very elegant building, once a residence of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs ; but now, used as a monastery. It is situated in a plain, surrounded with cottages and gardens in high cultivation ; it has a very choice library, and is represented as being a very agreeable retreat. We approached the rock of Lisbon, and saw, under projecting masses, the picturesque town of Cintra, famous for a summer retreat ; and in modern times, for a very foolish convention, which the English made with the French. Our Spanish Marchesa had now recovered from her indisposition ; she thrummed a few airs on her guitar, and essayed to be somewhat lively. A little event which occurred, served to illustrate, very forcibly, the different traits of national character. The Marquis one day, when we were all assembled, desired to know of what age the passengers supposed his wife to be, and which, to ascertain without debate or confederacy, he solicited each, to write the number of years on a piece of paper, which subsequently was folded down. The paper and pencil were first handed to the Dutchman ; he, casting a hasty glance at the lady, and feeling no disposition to flatter, wrote down *thirty* ; being, as he supposed, somewhat near the mark. The paper being folded, was passed to the Austrian, who, with a cold look, and a disposition not more favourable, wrote *twenty-seven*. The Englishman was next called upon ; he looked very complacently, and felt disposed to yield a little on the score of politeness ; and set down her age at *twenty-four*. The paper, still folded, passed to the Frenchman, full of gaiety and fashion, who, with a significant nod, wrote *twenty*. It was finally handed to my American friend, who had read in the countenance of each, what idea was passing, and determined to be unique and pleasing wrote *eighteen*. The paper was returned to the Marquis, who unfolded and read the sum and measure of each man's gallantry. The first, from the *Dutchman*, of *thirty*, seemed to startle the Marchesa, who gave him a cold, disdainful glance, accompanied by a shake of the head, which seemed to say, " Sir, you may go to the Devil." The next, twenty seven from the *Austrian*, was received somewhat more graciously, though still with a coldness, which appeared to think, that he was not much more polite than his neighbour. Twenty-four, from the *Englishman*, was greeted with a smile, and a kind nod of the head. Twenty, from the *Frenchman*,

met with a most gracious reception ; but, when the eighteen of the *American*, was developed, in conclusion, the Marchesa appeared delighted ; and with a smile illumining her countenance, she made a handsome return to my friend, *Le Senor Americano* ; and no doubt, in her estimation, we were the most gallant people in the world—

“ O ! flattery, how grateful art thou

“ To the ears of Men, and *Women, also* ! ”

“ Truth might lie between,” the Marchesa might have been about twenty-seven ; and was still pleased at being considered eighteen.

We approached Cadiz ; which, at a distance, appeared to rise, like a confused mass of white buildings, from the sea ; and, after a pleasant voyage of twelve days from Falmouth, we anchored in that spacious bay. Here commenced another epoch in my journey, and another country to examine, yet more fruitful in interest, than the former. We were surrounded by vessels of all nations, and particularly by several Americans. To the left as we entered, lay the town of Rota—to the right, a long line of ramparts, facing the sea : passing low in the bay, the forts of Santa Catalina—and beyond them, those of Matagorda, San Lorenzo, and Puntalis. Every thing around appeared strongly fortified ; the view of the country was delightful ; the air was cool and pleasant ; and the lively appearance of the City, with its small turrets, white houses, spacious buildings, passage boats, and ships of war, gave tokens of opulence, importance, and comfort. The boat from the packet, landed us at the Quay, without our baggage ; which we left for the more tranquil examination of the Custom-House officers. We passed through a gate, at which, a centinel was posted. Here, packages of merchandize, barrels of flour, and other commodities, were landing from ships in the bay. Our road led through the market, which was held in an open space ; and near the walls, I was stunned with cries ; *Pescado, Pescado*, screamed the fisherman ; *Tomates, Tomates, Naranjes de Seville*, cried another ; here, a man was wheeling a large jar, containing water, and inviting the passengers to drink, with “ *agua fresco*.” Calases, with their horses fantastically decorated with ribbons, and tinkling with bells, were waiting for a fare—sailors seated at a table, eating fried sardinias—here, a woman sold grapes ; there, *papilitoes*, little segars of paper, were made ; beggar women asking alms in the name of *Maria Santissima* ; all was confusion and crowd, which we, at length, bustled through, and got into the *Callia del Baluarte*.

As my visit to England and Spain, were both unexpected, I was, consequently, a stranger in both countries ; and I took the liberty of calling on Mr. Hackley, the American consul, for the purpose of consulting with him, on the best mode of reaching my place of destination. I found this worthy and intelligent officer, disposed to give me every facility in his power ; and he insisted upon my lodging at his house, assuring me, at the same time, that, notwithstanding the extent and importance of Cadiz, a good hotel was not to be found in the place ; and, that the only one which was tolerable, was the *Quatro Naciones*, at that period filled with strangers. Such, Mr. Hackley observed, was the want of accommodation, that the supercargoes of vessels generally lodged in the houses of their consignees ; and, that at one time, he had upwards of forty in family. Under such circumstances, I could not but accept the hospitable invitation ; and my baggage was sent for from the packet. I seized upon the first opportunity to stroll through the city, and was particularly struck with its extreme cleanliness ; the streets being neatly paved in the centre, and having flag-stones for side-walks. Cadiz may be said to be surrounded by the sea, in fact, it is built on an isthmus, which projects considerably towards the sea. There is a fine view from the westward. The air is mild and balsamic ; and the refreshing breeze tempers the winter, and moderates the excessive heat of summer. The Sirocco or Solano, which is the hot wind from the coast of Africa, is felt in the most distressing manner ; the air is burning, a dry mist obscures the rays of the sun, and the inhabitants close their doors and windows, to exclude the suffocating blast. This wind, however, seldom continues more than three days ; and is generally succeeded by a pleasant north west breeze, which seems to recover animal and vegetable creation, and revives and braces the system, which, during the sirocco, is relaxed and nervous. The population of Cadiz, may be estimated at 80,000 ; although, it covers but a small space of ground. The houses are crowded, and the streets very narrow ; this, however, produces one advantage, as it affords a shade at any period of the day ; and the current is drawn through from one end to the other. The houses are all white, and built of a soft stone, brought from Porta Santa Maria, this affects the eyes, and produces the ophthalmia ; a disease, not only common in that city, but also in the Barbary states. It is difficult to decide on the architecture of this city. It strikes a stranger, on the first view, to be strictly Moorish ;

the houses having terraces, with small battlements, and look-out towers, which give to the whole, a most singular and pleasing aspect ; yet they are exceedingly high ; whilst the Moorish houses consist generally of one, or at the extent, of only two stories. It is reasonable to suppose, from the antiquity of this city, that a strange commixture of styles in architecture, must have arisen ; and this confusion of Saracenic, gothic and modern buildings, renders it difficult to give a decided character to the city. Each house has a balcony in front ; a large gateway opens on the lower floor, called *entresol*, where a square court is seen, paved with marble, called a *patio*, which has a cool and agreeable appearance. From this court, a flight of stairs leads to the balconies, which, supported by light colonnades, runs around each story ; and from which, the different appartments branch ; these are generally divided on the first floor, into a large *salla*, or drawing room, furnished with much taste and elegance ; chairs and sofas covered with sattin ; wainscot of the same materials ; marble tables with gilt stands ; glass chandeliers, suspended in the centre ; fine straw mats on the floor ; large glass windows, which lead to the balconies ; and other ornaments, at once neat and elegant ; the other rooms on the same floor, are generally dining and bed rooms, paved with marble ; offices and counting houses are kept on the same range ; the upper stories are bed rooms, paved with brick, and so arranged, as to be cool and refreshing. From the terrace, a large square of canvass is drawn over the *patio*, which serves to exclude the sun, being always open when it rains ; a cistern is built in one corner of the *patio*, and the rain is received in the centre, through one of the flag-stones, punctured for the purpose. Few houses have gardens ; indeed there is hardly a city, which has so little ground to spare, as Cadiz ; flowers of all kinds, with small lime and orange trees, are raised in pots and vases, which being ranged on the terrace of each house, give a most agreeable air and appearance to the streets. Rent is very high in those streets, favourable to commerce ; and they command from 600 to 1200 dollars, per annum. The principal street in Cadiz, is called the *Calla Ancha* ; which is wide and airy ; the houses beautiful, some magnificent : stores of various descriptions, are here established, principally jewellers and fancy warehouses ; it is a kind of lounge for fashionable idlers, who are found in abundance in this city. The *Calla Ancha*, leads to a fine square, called the *Plaza de San Antonio*, pav-

ed with flag stones, in front of which, is the Church of the same name. This is one of the principal promenades of the city ; and the inhabitants are found here, almost at all hours, except about sun-set, when, apparently with one accord, they leave it to walk on the *Alamada* ; a beautiful walk, with a view of the sea, and leading to the *Composanto*, the only place where carriages and horses pass. Opposite to the Fortress of St. Sebastian, which is built on a strip of land, projecting into the sea, is a large and handsome building, called the Orphan-House, a charitable institution, which reflects credit on the munificence of the city.

Cadiz, has long been a port of considerable commerce, with every part of the world. Its situation is commodious, and easy of access ; but the trade formerly carried on with South America, and the immense revenue, arising from their possessions in that quarter, may be considered as wholly lost. Indeed, Spain at the present day, enjoys no more the advantages of the East and West-India trade ; and her intercourse with Peru and Mexico, is in a great measure cut off. It is impossible to doubt, but that the loss of the Colonies to Spain, though for a time severely felt, will eventually benefit that kingdom. They have placed too firm a reliance on the resources of those colonies, and neglected to improve those great natural advantages, which their own country possesses. Indolently reposing on the wealth, which the mines of Peru and Mexico afforded, and dazzled by a false splendour, held out by the transitory possession of riches and foreign territory, they lost sight of that great maxim, which nations never should forget, that industry, science, and the arts, are the only true sources of wealth and national character. Spain possesses a most fertile soil, which is greatly neglected. Manufactures, one great chain of independence, languishes ; education, the great fount of human wisdom, is fettered by priests, and checked by a want of inclination ; their maritime and military strength decayed ; they require some pinching calamity, to awaken them to a true sense of their own interest. With the loss of their possessions in South America, and another generation in Spain, a new impulse may be given to their enterprize ; and Spain may yet flourish on her own resources, which her foreign possessions are not calculated to promote.

The trade with the United States, prior to the Spanish revolution, was extensive and lucrative ; but, during the war, the troops drew

all their supplies of bread-stuffs from our country, which were brought by vessels licensed by the British. This trade was highly lucrative, and so extensive, that I have been informed, forty or fifty American vessels have been at one period in the Bay of Cadiz, consigned to one house. There are but few American merchants residing at Cadiz ; and I lamented to observe, that among those few, a spirit of rivalry, asperity, and ill-will was encouraged, which reflected the greatest discredit on our nation. Instead of harmony, concert in action, and friendship in mercantile transactions, they were divided into little parties, each striving to injure the other, and shewing neither civility nor attention to the friends and inmates of each other's houses. This was a display of American character to the highest disadvantage, and calculated to injure us in the estimation of the Spanish people. Jealousy is ever to be deprecated ; but a jealous cupidity among compatriots, is abhorrent. Besides Mr. Hackley, I was only intimate with one American, Mr. James W. Wardrop, from whom I received several marks of confidence and friendship, for which, I shall ever feel indebted.

It now becomes necessary to advert to a part of my instructions, for the release of American captives, at Algiers ; a subject which has occupied public attention, and has given rise to so many misrepresentations, as to render a recapitulation of the transaction indispensable. The relations existing between the United States and the Barbary Powers, have, of late, assumed a more lively interest ; not only from our operations in the Mediterranean, but from the continuance of a naval force in those waters, to protect our commerce and check the increasing hostility of those states. The situation of the Regencies, their unchangeable policy, and their connexion with the christian powers, are, at this day, vaguely known, and imperfectly described. The people of the United States knew little of them, their maritime resources, or their military positions ; except it was, either in relation to the captivity of our countrymen, or the tributes which we have been compelled to pay. Both of these subjects, however, have been deeply interesting to us. Humanity for our captive citizens, and regard for the just rights of the nation, have induced the government to use their efforts for the liberation of the one, and the security of the other.

With Algiers we have had but few difficulties. Yielding to an imaginary superiority, in points of defence, we have for many years

purchased their favour with large tributes and presents ; and an agent had been stationed there, to whose liberality, government apparently affixed no limits.

Several months prior to my appointment as consul for Tunis, the conduct of the Algerines towards the American agent, and the subsequent capture of the brig Edwin, of Salem, left no doubt, on the minds of the people of the United States, of the hostile disposition of that power. The distressing appeals to the government, from the American captives, and their repeated importunities for the interference of their country, not only created a general sympathy among the people, but produced a sincere disposition, on the part of the administration, to seize upon the first favourable occasion to procure them their liberty. This benevolent disposition, which should be evinced on every occasion, when the freedom of any of our citizens is implicated, was strengthened by the sufferings and privations of these unfortunate people. The war existing with England, had closed the Mediterranean to American vessels. It was, therefore, reasonable to believe, that no additional capture had been made by the Algerines ; and the government was disposed to interfere, from the well grounded belief, that the number of captives being comparatively trifling, could, without difficulty, be purchased ; and, from the same cause, the disbursements for their ransom would be deemed inconsiderable. The tribute annually paid to Algiers, the Biennial presents, and the vast sums of money expended in our relations with that Regency, for the last ten years, were justly considered oppressive, and were deemed by the people discreditable to their character as an independent nation, and would be found hereafter injurious to their commercial interest. In this light, also, it was viewed by the government ; but the pressure of other events, more important in their operation and effects, prevented any alteration of our measures towards that power, until their rapacity, which had construed our extraordinary liberality into motives of fear, led them to promote an open rupture, by dismissing the consul and capturing our vessels ; calculating, at the same time, on the ready disposition of the American government to arrange this difference, by the payment of a considerable sum of money : To afford a school for the practice and improvement of our officers and seamen ; to open a road for the developement of genius and character ; to set an example to the European world ; to cause our

rights and country to be hereafter respected and feared ; and to renew our relations on our own terms with Algiers—it was the determination of government, so far from approving their views and expectations, to seize upon the first moments after peace with England, to employ all our naval force in chastising the arrogance, and punishing the depredations, of that power. Independent, therefore, of motives of benevolence, it was an object of policy in the government to use every effort to redeem our captive seamen, calculating that no addition would be made to the number, desirous of removing every check to our operations, and causing those operations to be unrestrained and vigorous. The confidence reposed in me, by my political friends, throughout the United States, and their representations in my behalf, gave me every reason to believe that the government was no less favorably impressed towards me, and deemed it a proper opportunity to avail themselves of my services, by authorising me to purchase the release of those seamen, at Algiers. Accordingly, in the instructions forwarded to me from the secretary of state, the following paragraph refers to that object :—

“ On your way to Tunis, perhaps at Malaga, or Marseilles, you may probably devise means for the liberation of our unfortunate countrymen at Algiers, whose situation has excited the warmest sympathy of their friends, and indeed of the people generally of this country.—Should you find a suitable channel, through which you can negotiate their immediate release, you are authorised to go as far as three thousand dollars a man ; but a less sum may probably effect the object. Whatever may be the result of the attempt, you will, for obvious reasons, not let it be understood to proceed from this government, but rather from the friends of the parties themselves. As yet, we have information only of eleven persons ; the crew of the Brig Edwin, of Salem, being confined at Algiers, and it is to be hoped that no addition has been made to that number. If success should attend your efforts, you will draw upon this department for the necessary funds for paying their ransom, and providing for their comfortable return to their country and friends.”

It is unnecessary for me to examine these instructions in a minute manner ; or, by any ingenuity of construction, give to them a colouring favourable to my views, they are too plain to be misunderstood by the plainest capacity. The Secretary of State meant simply to say, “ The people are anxious to release these captives ; use your best efforts to break their chains, and go as far in the pur-

chase of their liberty as Three Thousand Dollars per man." Satisfied, from a knowledge of the wishes and sympathies of the people, whom I was representing, in relation to these captives, and assured that these instructions were not of a vague or indefinite character, possessing, also, the most anxious desire to be instrumental in restoring them to liberty, I resolved, in conformity with the spirit of these instructions, to send an agent to Algiers, to endeavour to effect their ransom, and at the same time, instruct him verbally, to make such observations on the works of defence, and disposition of the Algerines towards us, as would afford the Government, some information to regulate the arrangements which would be made with that power.

In the house of the American consulate at Cadiz, a Mr. Richard R. Keene, of Maryland, resided.—I met this gentleman, for the first time, at Mr. Hackley's, and was informed, that he had become a Spanish Citizen.—I did not enquire his motives, in transferring his allegiance; but presumed, it was intended to cover some commercial views. He appeared to me to be a man of talents, and insinuating address, and was on terms of very general intimacy with the American merchants at Cadiz, particularly with Mr. Richard R. Meade, an old and influential resident; at whose house, I learnt Mr. Keene was particularly intimate. Having ascertained that I intended to send an agent to Algiers, he offered his services, and indicated to me, that in addition to the protection of his Spanish character, he could, in the furtherance of his object, procure dispatches from the Spanish government, and special letters from Sir Henry Wellesley, British ambassador at that Court, to the English consul at Algiers; which would highly favour the humane efforts, about being adopted. Previous to accepting the services of Mr. Keene, I deemed it incumbent to consult with my colleague, Mr. Hackley; not only in consideration of the confidence reposed in him, by the government; but, from the information which he had on this subject, and from the impression that it was most safe to act advisedly. I accordingly addressed to him, the following official letter:—

CADIZ, OCTOBER 2d, 1813.

*“ Richard S. Hackley, esquire,
United States' consul, Cadiz,*

“ SIR—Having been authorised by the United States, to negotiate for the release of our countrymen, who are held in captivity by the Algerines, I embrace an early opportunity to consult with you on

the best method of carrying into effect the benevolent intentions of government. From the contiguity of your situation to the Barbary States, opportunities have been afforded you to collect the most satisfactory intelligence respecting their situation ; what may be the ultimate views of the Dey in regard to their liberation ; and what measures should be adopted to promote or ensure success. In order to satisfy the government, the people who are thus deprived of liberty, as well as the citizens of the United States, whose sympathy has been warmly excited, it appears necessary that an agent should be immediately dispatched to Algiers to negotiate for their release. I request that you will do me the favor to recommend me one properly qualified. To meet the expenses, the United States have appropriated 3000 dollars for each man ; but it is expected, that a less sum may accomplish the object ; and I am ordered to use my endeavors to make a smaller amount answer ; and for obvious reasons, to keep the interference of the United States out of view in the negotiation.

“Should it be in your power to recommend an agent *capable of managing the affair with ability*, and one in whom *every confidence can be placed*, I am desirous of advising with you respecting the compensation which such an agent should receive. From the information in your possession, you are best qualified to calculate the difficulties which present themselves in the undertaking, and in the event of success what should be the reward.

Requesting your early reply,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servt.

(Signed)

M. M. NOAH.”

Immediately on the receipt of the foregoing, Mr. Hackley made the following reply :—

“CADIZ, OCTOBER 3d, 1813.

“SIR—I am favored with the note you had the goodness to address to me, under date of yesterday. In reply, I have to state, that, since the departure of colonel Lear, our late consul-general to Algiers, whatever has occurred in that Regency has occupied my attention, from the interesting situation in which we have stood with them, and the capture of twelve of our citizens. To this end, I have lost no opportunity of communicating direct with these unfortunate persons ; with John Norderling, esq. his Swedish majesty’s

consul-general ; and at the same time, collecting from other sources whatever information appeared to my judgment might lead to form a correct idea as to the probability of obtaining their release by ransom, should our government at any time be desirous of making the attempt. My conclusion is, that the release of those unfortunate persons will be attended with much difficulty, if effected at all ; yet, under the instructions you bear from our government, *I am of opinion that the attempt should be made*, which cannot be done direct from yourself or any citizen of the United States, whom you might deem it proper to act in your stead. I have learned that Mr. Richard R Keene, has proposed to you to undertake a voyage to Algiers, for the express purpose of negotiating for their release. I have no hesitation in stating to you, that I consider him *every way qualified for the attempt*. Mr. Keene, being a Spanish subject, will ensure his personal safety ; and at the same time, it will enable him to pursue his object without fear of discovery. *This gentleman, has been long among my acquaintance, and possesses my respect, esteem, and friendship*. Added to considerable and cultivated talents, he possesses a firmness and perseverance of character, which befit him for this enterprize. His situation here, has made it his interest and study to stand well with those who at present govern this country ; and I have no doubt but he will make this Regency, and also the British minister, meet his object, without bringing into view any interference of the United States ; and through this medium, I sincerely hope, obtain the end so desirable, and which could not, I am under the persuasion, be obtained, by a direct application, for a sum far exceeding your limits.

“ I understand Mr. Keene expects, if he succeed, he shall receive the full sum, as limited by your instructions, say 3000 dollars (hard dollars) per man, and a compensation of three thousand dollars for his services in the negotiation. If he do not succeed, I understand he will only require one thousand dollars, for all his expenses in the attempt.

“ I do not hesitate to say, that *I should, under similar circumstances, close with this proposition, authorised as you are by your instructions to that end*. The sum of three thousand dollars is barely a reasonable remuneration for the services required. It is not probable, should the attempt be successful, that any surplus will remain out of three thousand dollars, for each man. Should there, however be any, Mr. Keene, would be justly entitled to

it as an equivalent for such interest, or auxiliary support, which he, individually, would be able to command.

I have the honour to be,
Very respectfully, Sir,
Your obt. and humble servt.

(Signed) RICHARD S. HACKLEY.

“M. M. Noah, esquire, United States’
consul for the City and Kingdom of Tunis.”

On the receipt of this letter, so favourable to the character and qualifications of Mr. Keene, I proceeded to arrange with him, relative to the compensation to which he would be entitled, in the event of success. It will here be recollected, that Mr. Keene, though an American by birth, was under Spanish protection. He had no views towards the government of the United States, and had nothing to look for or expect from them, as a reward for his services. He was every way qualified for the attempt. His influence with the Spanish government, procured their interference, and he also secured the co-operation of the English Ambassador, Sir Henry Wellesley. The task was difficult, delicate, and attended with danger. These considerations jointly, operated to induce me to go as far in remunerating such services as Mr. Keene might afford, as I was authorised to do by the government. To induce him, therefore, to use every exertion in the attempt, I gave him the entire disposal of the sum appropriated, and the surplus, within three thousand dollars, was to be his entire property. His expenses were to be paid ; and, in the event of an unsuccessful termination of his efforts, he agreed to receive nothing more than the payment of those expenses. The following agreement was entered into between us :—

“Whereas, Mordecai M. Noah, consul of the United States of America, for the City and Kingdom of Tunis, in virtue of competent authority on the part of his government, proposes to Don Ricardo R. Keene, a Spanish subject, to effect the release, from Algerine captivity, of a certain number of citizens of the said United States, and to convey them to the most convenient place of safety, so as to facilitate their return to their country : And whereas the said Ricardo R. Keene agrees to attempt the accomplishment of said purpose : Now, it is hereby understood and settled between the said parties, that the following are the terms, to the ob-

servance of which, they mutually bind and pledge themselves, in reference to said negotiation

“ Mordecai M. Noah, as a remuneration to said Don Ricardo R. Keene, agrees to pay him in advance, one thousand dollars, for all the personal expenses which he may incur in this negotiation. If said Ricardo R. Keene does not succeed in securing the release of said captives, nothing further is he to receive ; but in the event of success, the said Ricardo R. Keene is to receive a further compensation, to wit, of three thousand dollars, and any surplus that may be above the prices to be paid for the said captives, out of an allowance at the rate of three thousand dollars for each man, to be furnished by the said Mordecai M. Noah, as the ultimatum of the purchase money ; so that there being, as is now understood, twelve, and twelve only, of said captives, the amount of said purchase money to be thus furnished by said Mordecai M. Noah, on behalf of the United States, will be thirty-six thousand dollars.—Consequently, the said eventual surplus, will be the sum short of, or under, thirty-six thousand dollars, which may remain above the actual disbursement, in effecting said purchase.

“ In the event of obtaining the release of said captives, funds are to be provided by said Mordecai M. Noah to effect their conveyance to a place of safety as aforesaid.

“ In testimony whereof, the said parties have interchangeably affixed their hands, this 13th November, 1813, in the 38th year of American Independence.

(Signed)

M. M. NOAH,
R. R. KEENE.”

Mr. Keene after this agreement was made, brought me the following letters, of which I took copies :—

CADIZ, NOVEMBER 14th, 1813.

“ SIR—The bearer of this letter is Mr. Raynal Keene, by birth an American, but admitted to the rights and privileges of a Spanish citizen. At the solicitation of the American merchants residing at Cadiz, he is about to proceed to Algiers, for the laudable purpose of procuring the release from captivity, of a number of American subjects, amounting to twelve, *taken, as it appears, without any previous declaration of war, or the slightest indication of hostilities* ; and as this undertaking is entirely unconnected with any commercial objects, and

is solely dictated by motives of humanity, I have no hesitation in recommending Mr. Keene to your assistance and protection.

I am, sir, &c.

(Signed)

H. WELLESLEY.

“ ——— Mac Donald, esquire,
vice-consul, Algiers.”

ROYAL ISLAND of LEON, NOVEMBER 5, 1813.

“The Regency of the kingdom, desirous of giving new proofs to the United States of the protection dispensed to the commerce of those States, as well as to the individuals employed therein, has directed that your lordship should make all possible exertions, without compromising their responsibility, to obtain the liberation of twelve American citizens, who have been captives in your kingdom for nearly a year; and in case your lordship, to effect this object, should find it necessary to make any present of consideration, or unusual gratification, your lordship will advise the same, for the ulterior resolution of their highnesses, by whose order I communicate this, for your information and government. .

God guard your lordship many years.

(Signed)

FERDINAND DE LA SERNAY.

“ To Don Pedro Ortiz de Zugarte,
Spanish consul general, Algiers.”

In detailing the events of this negotiation, I am thus particular, in exhibiting proofs of a due caution, in carrying into effect the express orders of government, in consequence of the very serious injury I sustained in the result; the misrepresentations which have been made on the subject; and the necessity of recording these events, for the unprejudiced decision of a just community. It was necessary to procure a passage to Algiers, which could only be done from Gibraltar; and an epidemic disease, which broke out in the garrison, and extended itself to Cadiz, suspended my operations, and continued me in that city.

I now recollected, for the first time since my arrival, that Cadiz was connected with a variety of interesting events of antiquity; and from the most remote periods, had ever held a distinguished rank. Cadiz, the Gadez, or Gadira of antiquity, was built by the Phœnicians, although it has been attempted to be shown, that the Carthaginians laid the first foundation.— Strabo maintains, that the Tyrians occupied the Island, some time before the city was built. The Tyrian Hercules, to whom

the celebrated Temple was erected in Gadez, and who, in combat, slayed the Geryons, landed there as early as the days of Abraham ; a period, as far back as history can well go, in identifying the spot. Hercules, the most renowned warrior, and enterprising chief of antiquity, died here. In Joshua's time, according to Bochart, innumerable tribes of Phœnicians, settled on each side of the Mediterranean, and first introduced commerce in Spain. Hercules, at an advanced period of life, and long subsequent to his battle and victory over the Geryons, those vicious barbarians, and also after having conquered Antœus, built Utica, in Africa ; and Cartea, in the Bay of Gibraltar ; and also those two celebrated Pillars, so obscure as to their locality and origin, and which have given rise to those amusing fables, by the Greeks, of Calpe and Abyla.

No hero of antiquity, has been so much, and so generally worshipped, as Hercules. Innumerable Temples were erected to his honor ; the great one, however, around which, Julius Cæsar made the circuit, was built near Cadiz. It has been said by learned authors, that Carthage is of greater antiquity than Cadiz, and the inquiry is somewhat curious. Dido, arrived at Carthage, 883 years before the Christian æra ; from which period, we are to suppose it took its origin. Cadiz, according to Velleas, was built near one hundred years after the Trojan war. Troy was taken 904 years before Christ ; so, by this calculation, Carthage is older than Cadiz ; and yet, it is recorded, that Pygmalion presented the splendid temple of Hercules, with a rich donation, consisting of an artificial olive tree, the emblem of peace, even in those early periods, in massive gold. It is evident, that the utmost confusion must arise, in every effort to attach a genuine character to the periods of antiquity, in relation to this city ; and, however interesting the inquiry really is, the further we progress, the more we are perplexed with doubts, and contradictory statements. The broader features alone, remain undisputed. The city of Cadiz, or Gadir, was built in the fourth or fifth century after the flood ; it was founded by Hercules, and for many centuries was a port of commerce for the Tyrians and Carthaginians. The fabulous history of this part of the world, is extremely curious and interesting ; but, there is so much to be rejected by the inquiring mind, that a volume on this subject would be considered as labour lost, in identifying and confirming the various places and incidents contained in that histo-

ry. One fact, which cannot be doubted, is ever worthy of observation ; that is, the extraordinary commercial enterprize of the Phœnicians. It is asserted, that the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, and the use of the Tyrian Cynosure to steer by, were known to these surprising people. Under Cadmus, they encouraged and advanced navigation, astrology, arithmetic, writing, and poetry ; and it is well known, that they formed the first models of vessels, with which they traded in the Mediterranean ; passed on to Britain ; navigated the Red Sea ; doubled the Cape of Good Hope ; passed by the south of Africa ; and anchored in the Bay of Cadiz. When, therefore, it is considered, that upwards of 3500 years have elapsed, since these spirited people gave an impulse to navigation ; when it is considered, also, that since that time some improvements have been made, and many yet are to be effected, their merit and enterprize will be duly appreciated. As to the antiquity of Cadiz, no doubt can be entertained. After the foundation by the Tyrians, these active emigrants, were annoyed by the barbarian natives to that degree, that they were compelled to send for succour to the Carthagenians. They painted, in glowing colours, the richness of the soil, and the wealth which was to be obtained from commerce and other sources, and so awakened the cupidity of the Carthagenians, who had, at that period, formed a government sufficiently powerful, that a fleet was sent under the command of Meseus to grant them relief. This fleet passed over to the continent, and first projected the plan, of adding to the territories of their allies, by the capture of several provinces and towns, on the coast of Spain. They passed through the country with rapidity, destroyed the natives, gave to the Tyrians the conquered cities, and returned to Carthage, with great wealth. This expedition, for a length of time, was a subject of gratulation to the Carthagenians, until a vast plan of conquest was devised by Hamilcar, who, 200 years before the Christian æra, projected an expedition, with a view of extending their possessions, and strengthening their power against the encroachment of the Romans. It was at this interesting period, that this renowned admiral carried with him, his two sons, Hannibal and Asdrubal, the former of which, only nine years of age, was then taught to swear eternal hatred to the Romans.— They captured in the way, the Islands of Corsica, and Sardinia, Sicily, and the Balearic Islands ; and marched to the Pillars of Her-

cules, from the spot where Ceuta now stands, crossed over to Calpe, now Gibraltar, and landed in triumph. These conquests, so rapidly made, and so important in themselves, it will be readily conceived, laid the foundation for that military fame, for which Hannibal was subsequently distinguished ; even at that early age, he was accustomed to the din of arms, the bustle of a camp, and the movement of fleets. After landing at Calpe, he passed round the bay, through the place where Algeciras now stands ; crossed the mountains and journeyed towards Cadiz, where he established the headquarters of his army. Then commenced an extensive scale of operations ; the Celts and Iberians were defeated, in several battles with the Carthagenians, and finally destroyed ; Medina Sidona, which is beautifully situated on a mountain, in view of Cadiz, was taken by the Carthagenians. In this city stood the famous temple of Hercules. After a possession of Gades and the surrounding country for nine years, Hamilcar was killed, and was succeeded by Asdrubal, who scoured the coast, and built that strong maritime depot, called New Carthage, or Carthagena. His army, weakened by battle with the natives, and the Romans, drove him at length to a peace. On the breaking out of a new war, Hannibal commanded ; and, after prostrating himself before the image of Hercules, in the splendid temple, and offering up his vows, he took his departure for Italy. Then the Roman arms first triumphed in Spain, under Cnecius Scipio, who in a pitched battle, captured Hanno, the Carthaginian general, who was left in command by Asdrubal. The promptness and facility of the Roman army, gave a severe check to the power of the Carthagenians. Syphax and Masanissa became their allies, and after a variety of battles and sieges, the Carthagenians were finally driven out of Spain ; and the Romans, one hundred and ninety years before Christ, became complete masters of that extensive country. Cæsar was appointed governor of Spain ; which, according to Seutonius, fell to his share by lot. On his arrival at Cadiz, he visited the Temple of Hercules, in which was deposited a fine statue of Alexander the Great. This image of that distinguished warrior, was viewed by Cæsar with great interest ; and for the first time, awakened in his mind the most powerful sensations. He recapitulated the many warlike deeds of Alexander, accomplished at an early age, and then wept at the reflection that he had conquered the world, when at the age of Cæsar ; and Cæsar had done nothing to merit celebrity. At this period, the controul of the Romans

extended to Lusitania, (Portugal). Cæsar, when about returning from his Prætorship, was arrested for debt, and had to obtain security for eight hundred and thirty talents, about \$750,000, which debt must have been incurred for purposes of state. Cadiz, then, has been in possession of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Greeks, Carthagenians, and Romans; and from them, it passed into the hands of the Goths, then the Moors, and finally the Christians. These reverses of fortune, could have been historically recorded, and every important event authenticated, had its last possessors been sufficiently enlightened, to have preserved the materials of history; but, certain it is, that the Spaniards know little of the ancient history of their country; and they desire, that it should not be known to the rising generation, that infidels once were lords of their soil. There are few remains of antiquity, in good order; though Roman causeways, bridges, signal towers, and ruins, proved, beyond doubt, the ancient character of the country. Strabo declared that Cadiz was only second to Rome, and that such was the emigration to the Temple of Hercules, that a grand Roman road was made to the Pyrenees; there are no remains of it, however, at this day. The Archbishop of St. Domingo, in his travels, speaks of Cadiz, as possessing a grand Amphitheatre, and several noble monuments of antiquity, of which, no traces are now to be found. Gruter, a Spanish author, records the following inscription, on a monument near the Isla de Leon:—

“ D. M. S.

“ SI LVBET, LEGITO :

“ HELIODORUS INSANVS CARTHAGENIENSIS AD EXTREMVM ORBIS SARCOPHAGO TESTAMENTS ME HOC JVSSIT CANDIRI, VT VIDEREM, SI ME GVISGVVM INSANIOR AD NIE VISENDVM VSGVE AD HVNC LOCVM PENE-TRARET.”

“ D. M. S.

“ If you please read.

Heliodorus, a Carthaginian madman, ordered me, by his will, to be put into this Sarcophagus, at the extreme part of the globe, that I might see whether any one more mad than myself, would come as far as this place, to see me.”

Prior to the year 1600, it is certain, that many beautiful specimens of antiquity still existed at Cadiz, in good preservation. The English then sacked the town; threw down, and broke the fine

marble statues, and it is said, destroyed and carried away part of that finely executed statue of Alexander, which was erected in the Temple of Hercules. Dr. Clarke, in his excellent letters on the Spanish nation, gives a detailed account of the antiquities of that country; and Mocquet, who wrote in 1618, spoke of the Pillars of Hercules, as being composed of tin, gold and silver, mixed together; though ancient writers say, they were built wholly of brass, each of which was eight cubits high. The Emperor Charles the 5th, had these Pillars stamped on his dollars; but struck out the former motto "*Nihil Ulterius*," and substituted "*Plus Ultra*;" as this accomplished warrior had fully earned a claim to that distinction. Cadiz has been frequently besieged; the last attempt, by the French, and by far the most steady, active, and persevering, totally failed; though, for many months, vigorously prosecuted. An immense number of shells were thrown into the city, from Porta Santa Maria, a distance heretofore unknown in the use of the mortar, which occasioned but little injury. In 1530, Barbarossa projected an attack on Cadiz, and put to sea, with two divisions of his fleet; one of which, was surprised by Andrew Doria, and entirely destroyed, which ended the piratical attempt. The English, under Sir Walter Raleigh and the Earl of Essex, made a bold dash at Cadiz, and destroyed the fleet, the galleons, and innumerable quantities of stores and ammunition, besides several valuable Indiamen; and would have possessed themselves of the town, had not the fortifications, and the strong reinforcements of Spanish troops, rendered the attempt extremely hazardous.

From the variety of sieges and attacks, to which Cadiz has been exposed, from remote periods, added to the temptations held forth by its great wealth and extensive commerce, the attention of the Spanish government has been incessantly directed to the means necessary to fortify it; and its natural situation has greatly aided the artificial means adopted for its safety. Situated on a narrow strip of land, surrounded by the sea and the bay, except on the east side, it may be said to be almost impregnable. It cannot be approached, except from the land, and the city at that point, is covered by several ditches and drawbridges, surmounted by strong and effective batteries. A canal has been lately projected across this narrow strip, which was intended to connect the waters of the sea, and the Bay of Cadiz, and thus cut off all approach to the city by land.—

The ramparts are used as a promenade, and are extremely wide and beautiful ; a number of handsome brass pieces are mounted, but kept in wretched order. From the ramparts, which are frequently crowded with people, there is a fine view of the bay, the shipping, the surrounding country, and the ocean ; and as they are elevated some thirty feet above the level of the streets, the cool sea breeze is enjoyed in its greatest perfection.

I left the ramparts after enjoying a pleasant afternoon's walk, to attend the exhibition of bull fights at the *Plaza del Toro*. This is a vast Amphitheatre, built of wood, open at the top, and having several tiers of boxes and seats, capable of accommodating near 10,000 people. It is situated near the walls of the city, to the north-west, in sight of the Castle of Santa Catalini. On my way thither I passed by a noble park of brass artillery, consisting of near 800 pieces, of various calibre, dismounted and piled on each other transversely, without any covering, or apparently any guard. Some of these pieces bore various devices finely executed, and some were exceedingly old, having the arms of France, Spain, and Portugal, elegantly embossed upon them. There were several extraordinary sized mortars, used by the French, at the siege of Cadiz, said to be cast at Seville, and left by the retreating army, at Port Saint Mary's, opposite the city. These mortars bore inscriptions of French Marshals ; and, instead of the former custom of inscribing fabulous names as Mars, Bellona, Gorgon, Hydra, &c. (a very common usage) they were ornamented with the names of Soult, Ney, Junot, &c. names somewhat better calculated to inspire courage. From the immense crowds of ladies of fashion and elegance, who were bending their steps with eager haste, to the bull-fight, together with the hurried gait of officers, and gentlemen with rapid steps, and the anxious expedition of the million, an idea may be formed of the attachment to this amusement, and the national character, which, for centuries past, it has acquired. I paid about three shillings for one of the best seats, and found the Amphitheatre nearly filled. The ring was crowded with rabble, intermixed with soldiers, water-carriers, cake-sellers, peasants, and sailors. A large box, over the entrance, was reserved for the Municipality, who entered with extreme gravity, wearing large cocked hats. Another box, handsomely decorated, belonged to the Governor and his suite ; and the sports did not commence until he entered. A full band of music was stationed near him, playing national airs. A company of

soldiers, headed by an officer, made their appearance from the grand arcade ; they entered the ring, filed to the right and left, and passed around singly, facing the entrance. They then formed the line, marching very slowly by beat of drum ; and, as the line extended from one end to the other, the rabble retreated as they advanced ; and finally, the crowd having made their way out, the gate was closed, leaving the company of soldiers alone in the ring ; and the rest of the house crowded at all points. This was handsomely conducted, without noise or confusion. The company then went through their exercise, and were dismissed ; each soldier clambering up into the boxes, to find a place to see the exhibition. After a pause, a large gate was thrown open, and forth issued a procession, consisting of the *Dramatis Personæ*. Four *Picadores* entered on horseback, their legs and thighs cased in leather, lined with tin or sheet iron, a large white Sombrero, or hat, tied under their chin by a ribbon, and tastefully placed on one side ; a silk jacket and waistcoat, ornamented with gold and silver frogs, and a sash round their waist, with a long spear in their hands, tipped with iron ; then followed six *banderillos*, so called, whose task was to annoy the bull, by affixing small sharp hooks in his flesh, ornamented with paper, and sometimes concealing fireworks ; these men were dressed in silk jackets and small-clothes, with light shoes, and silk cloaks of various colours, which they used in throwing at the bull, to divert him from any fixed object. The *Matadore* brought up the rear ; he is the final executioner of the bull, and is considered a man of great importance, in sustaining the most difficult and dangerous part. This cavalcade first made a profound obeisance to the Governor, then to the Alcalde and his officers, and finally, to the whole company ; after which they retired. Another gate opened, and all the bulls, amounting to six or seven, rushed out, headed by a man, leading a tame bull, with a bell around his neck. The audience, at the sight, shouted forth applause, and the bulls, somewhat alarmed, rushed around the ring in great confusion ; and it was with difficulty, that the man and his tame leader, enticed away these furious animals. The horsemen then appeared and took their stations.—The *Banderillos* entered, with their cloaks hanging on their arms, and secured themselves, behind strong wooden pallisadoes, affixed to the boxes, as a security against the pursuit of the animal. An awful pause ensued, and at the sound of the trumpet, the bolt was

drawn from the gate, and one of the bulls rushed into the Arena. He paused, darting his fiery glances around, as if undecided where to make the first attack. He suddenly made at the first *Picadore*, and unhorsed him in a twinkling; he buried his horns in the bowels of the poor animal—when the *banderillos* rushed from their concealment, and with their cloaks diverted the attention of the bull. The horseman slowly released himself from his dangerous position, and took shelter behind the *pallisadoes*; the bull then darted furiously at the other horse, but the spear, well directed, entered the fleshy part of his neck, and turned him off; with the third horse, he was more successful, and killed him. The horses were then dragged off, but not without some danger. The *banderillos* commenced their part, by affixing the small spears and hooks, wrapped round with paper, into the neck of the bull. This was a difficult and dangerous experiment; custom rendered it necessary, that the bull should have fair play, and the audience generally took his part, applauding him with shouts, and the vibrations of innumerable handkerchiefs. To affix these *banderillos*, therefore, it was necessary to face the bull; and, as he rushed towards the man, it required the utmost dexterity to effect his object, while he escaped his horns. These machines, some of which concealed fire-works, exploded; and tortured the poor animal even to madness. The sound of the trumpet announced the conclusion, and the *matadore* made his appearance, carrying in one hand a long and finely tempered sword, and in the other, a flag of red worsted, which he placed before the eyes of the bull, whose attention was immediately attracted by it. The animal darted at the red flag, and changed his position several times; finally the *matadore*, finding him in a fit posture, poised his sword over the handle of the flag, and the bull, rushing towards it, received it up to the hilt in his neck, staggered for a while, and then fell. Three horses ornamented with flags, entered the ring, to which the dead animal was attached by a rope wound round his horns, and tied to a swing-tree, and was thus dragged off, amidst the shouts of the spectators, and the sound of music. The flesh is immediately cut up, and sold to the poor at a reduced price. From the overflowing audience, and the enthusiasm exhibited on the occasion, it will readily be perceived, that bull-fights constitute the most important, and national species of amusement. The greatest portion of this audience, was composed of ladies of fashion and elegance,

and who, from habit, could tranquilly view the torture of poor animals, for their amusement ; nay, feel delighted, if the savage fury of the bull destroyed all the horses, or threatened the lives of the men. So much for custom, blunting feelings, which, otherwise are rather humane than callous. The sight of this Amphitheatre, crowded with well-dressed persons, animated with the rapid sports of the ring, is really grand. The applause bestowed is by shaking the handkerchief, and the simultaneous movement of many thousands, appears like a heavy and rapid fall of snow, or the gathering of white clouds. The enthusiasm of the audience, at the spirit of the Bull, or the dexterity of the actors, knows no bounds ; they, indiscriminately, applaud one, with as much violence as they do the other. I recollect a small black bull, which, when let into the Arena, killed five horses ; and having cleared the ring, he remained sole master, glaring his fiery eyes around, with a proud look of defiance. The audience shouted forth applause, the ladies shook their handkerchiefs with violence, and when silence ensued, a peasant arose in his seat, and with looks of delight and congratulation screamed out, “ *Senories—questo Toro una pisano meo de Tariffa.* ”—“ Gentlemen, that Bull is my Countryman, from Tariffa.” Nothing could be more droll to a stranger, than hearing a *Spaniard* claiming consanguinity to a *Bull*.

The Spanish women, and particularly the ladies of Andalusia, constitute the most important, and influential part, of the population of that country. It is incredible, what real difference exists, and what disparity is evident, between the men and women ; whether this arises from the known want of stamina and character, on the part of the men, their little acquaintance with arts and science, their bigotry, or rather the intolerance in their faith, I cannot say ; but there is a coldness about them, a saturnine indifference, not discernible in the females. The men, though reserved, are excessively polite, full of compliment without meaning, and of professions without sincerity. We hear much, and read more, respecting the jealousy of the Spaniards ; of their suspicious nature ; their bars and bolts ; their Duennas and grated windows ; all this is romance ; there is less jealousy evinced in Spain, than in any other country I have visited. There is no fastidiousness in their families ; a husband introduces you to his wife, with the most per-

fect confidence ; and to his daughter, if single, with a perfect reliance, which is never shaken, on her virtue, and your integrity. There are seldom instances of an aberration from virtue, on the part of unmarried women ; and, it is strangely irreconcilable, that after marriage, all restraint being removed, women are seldom found without a lover, or, as he is called, a *Cortejo* ; and what is most extraordinary, the lover and husband are affectionate friends, frequently inhabiting one house, and exercising an equality of jurisdiction. Spanish women, have generally, dark or olive complexions, large black piercing eyes, fine teeth, which are sometimes injured by eating *dolces* or sweets, and a noble and majestic walk, for which they are eminently distinguished. They cannot be called beautiful, but they never fail to interest. Their vivacity and sensibility, the unaffected ease of their manners, their general politeness and address, joined to the advantages, resulting from the most rich and copious language in the world, give to them the most surprising advantages, and evidently place the men, in a secondary rank and condition. The women dress alike, in Spain ; they usually wear black bombasin, or silk petticoats, rather short, and filled at the bottom, with shot or lead, to give a due weight, or pressure to the garment ; a tight boddice, with long sleeves of the same materials, or sometimes, for contrast, of white silk ; a half coloured Barcelona, or bandanna handkerchief, pinned close over their neck and bosom ; a black or white silk veil, thrown over the head, and brought under the chin and there crossed, so as to expose the face ; white silk stockings ; neat shoes ; and a fan in their hands. Thus attired, they assemble in great numbers, at the close of the afternoon, on a long walk, fronting the sea, called the *Alameda*, which is commodiously arranged, with stone benches, and lined with trees to make it an agreeable promenade. Here the whole city is seen, without any discrimination, as to rank or character ; and this general place of rendezvous, affords to a stranger, at one view, all that is attractive, fashionable, or elegant. They meet in summer, about six o'clock ; and the crowd, increases until dark. At the going down of the sun, the bells, from all the churches, chime the *oraceones*, or vespers ; the crowd stops, the loud laugh, and the hum of voices, are instantaneously suspended, the air of gaiety gives place to unaffected and pious looks, each person crosses himself, and says a short prayer, to return thanks to the Disposer of all good, that another day has passed in peace.—

The bell stops in a minute, each person passes the compliment of the evening to the other, the crowd moves on, and again all is life and animation. No religious ceremony is so solemn, and at the same time, so wholly commendable. Millions pausing at the same moment, suspending the hilarity of conversation, the gaiety of thought, the tender sentiments of love, to give place to pious reflections, and grateful acknowledgements.

Religion, in Spain, is a combination of ceremonies, rigidly enforced by priests, armed with strong authority. Evening is scarcely set in, before an old man, with a lantern, a small tin box, and a bell, visits your house, to receive a donation for souls in purgatory; whether this is appropriated to private, or ecclesiastical purposes, I could not discover. Then a procession is formed, by boys and Priests, carrying a large cross and candles, chaunting, with hoarse voices, the rosario, or prayers for rain, or other blessings. The host, accompanied by a guard, priests, and crowd, is then carried to a sick person. The passengers, without reference to situation, are compelled to sink on their knees, as it passes. The numerous saints are each entitled to certain honours, which occupy a portion of each day throughout the year. This multiplication of religious ceremonies, keeps the mind eternally directed, more to the fulfilment of them, than the pure purposes of religion. A multitude of priests and ecclesiastics, of various grades, who fill the houses, churches, and convents, are ever ready to enforce their precepts, and enjoy their rights, by terrors wholly temporal, and ever hostile to the interest, and spirit of true religion. The Inquisition, a curse to humanity, and to that country, though stripped of a portion of its former cruelties, still retains sufficient power to awe the free-thinker, or curb the rebellious spirit of religious independence.—The mind still shackled, cannot break the chains of clerical influence: and while education is in the hands of priests, superstition and fanaticism will continue to have a national, and local permanency and effect. I have looked, with astonishment, at a school-master, in Cadiz, who, after the conclusion of his daily labours, sends forth his scholars in procession, marches at their head, and sees each scholar safe to his home. This destroys independence in the bud; instead of permitting boys to find their way home, to encounter some little difficulties, to surmount some trifling obstacles, to establish a foundation for manly spirit and promptness. they are

led like sheep, their spirit is curbed, the inquiring disposition is checked, and, in their infancy, they are taught to be slaves, and led by some one in authority. Here, the origin of that humble spirit, and obedience to ecclesiastical power, are first traced ; and until a radical reform takes place, in the first principles of education, Spain will never alter ; she will ever be internally weak and puerile ; and having no basis, on which an effective national character can be established.

Cadiz has a grand Theatre, or rather a spacious one, as it is not remarkable for elegance of architecture, and is situated in a narrow and mean street. There is something effective, even in the show of liberty, and man naturally free, seizes the first occasion to break temporary shackles, and proclaim his freedom. The Spanish constitution is but a name ; but it holds forth an equality of rights, and many profit by the occasion, to announce their change to the world. A marble slab was placed over the door of the theatre, on which was inscribed, in golden letters, a compliment to the glorious constitution of Spain, which gave to *performers* an equality of rights, and for the first time, proved that they were men. A poor compliment to genius, but no doubt a true one ; as performers, during the *ancien regime*, were excluded from civil rights, whatever talents they might have indicated. The interior of the Theatre, is meanly decorated, and poorly lighted, and appears capable of accommodating 2000 spectators. The boxes have no seats in them, and chairs are introduced to accommodate the number of visitants ; these are hired by the month, or night ; admittance to any part of the house being obtained for a trifle. The seats in the pit, are partitioned off, resembling arm chairs, and numbered ; in addition to the price of entrance, another sum is paid, for a number to correspond with the seat. Spain, has produced some fine dramatic poets ; though, at present, translations from the best French and Italian plays, are substituted for native productions ; I saw *Eodipe* performed with great effect. It has been contended, that the French language is best suited for Tragedy ; but I cannot believe that it is equal to the Spanish, or capable of producing the same interest. The Spanish actors, familiar with stage effect ; graceful in their gestures ; dignified in their movements ; giving the most solemn pauses to their sentences ; deep entonation to the expression of the passions ; using a language, soft, sweet, full, and high-

ened, without abbreviation of words, or guttural sounds ; when they have talent, present as perfect a representation of the drama, as can be well imagined. The chief attraction to the natives, are small one act pieces, interspersed with music, called *Synates* ; something like the *Vaudvilles* of the French, but more broad in humour, and rather more indelicate in sentiment. After the Tragedy, the dancing commenced, a never failing portion of the performance. If there is any thing national in Spain, it is their dances ; these have been frequently explained by travellers and historians, and celebrated by poets. Every person, from the peer to the peasant, is attached to these immemorial customs, which never lose their ancient character, by foreign improvement. The Spanish dances are the *Boleros*, the *Fandango*, the *Zapateyo*, and *Cachuche*, each of which, is performed with castanets. After the conclusion of the Tragedy, the *Bolero* commenced, the music of which, is rather *presto*, and principally performed on a flute, or octave fife.—The curtain arose, displaying a view of a spacious hall ; and the enlivening sound of the castanets, heard at each wing, was the signal for the commencement of the music, and the applause. The male and female dancer, enter opposite each other, with a quick and firm step. Nothing can be more graceful and elegant, than their dress. The lady wears a short silk petticoat, ornamented with several flounces of lace, and rich embroidery, a tight bodice of silk, with long sleeves, the hair clubbed behind, and entwined with artificial flowers. The actor wears a short silk jacket, kerseymere small clothes, a sash tight around his waist, his hair clubbed, or affixed in a net, or *redicilla* ; every thing wears the appearance of lightness and elegance ; thus accoutred, with their castanets, the dancing commences. It is difficult to describe the *Bolero* ; it bears no affinity to any dance known in our country ; it consists of rapid steps, the parties rushing towards each other, and then receding, joined to a variety of attitudes, inexpressibly graceful. The action is somewhat lascivious, without being particularly indelicate, and there is a character in this national dance, an arch expression of looks between the couple, a kind of bye play, a species of *la chasse*, when joined to the sprightly music, and the rattling of the castanets, which make it very attractive, and fully justify the enthusiasm, in favour of this species of amusement. Some good singing, from an Italian performer ; a long national air, about *Ballosteros* ; and the

Constitucion, terminated the performance, which was concluded shortly after nine o'clock. I was somewhat surprised, on leaving the Theatre, to observe an immense number of the audience, stopping at small niches, or shops, at the corner of the streets, where fish was fried and sold, each purchasing a couple, hot from the pan, wrapping them in paper, and depositing them in their pockets. This, I was informed, constituted the Spanish supper, on the return from the *Teatro*. Fish, with sallad and dressed with strong oil, is the frugal nightly repast of Spanish families, generally.

There is not much to boast of, in the living at Cadiz ; vegetables and fruit being the principal articles of consumption. The bread is white, excessively sweet, and inferior to none in the world. The beef is small, sometimes scarce ; mutton, being most plentiful, is the favourite dish. Game is not common ; fowls and turkeys are dear. The *olio* is a never failing Spanish dish ; this consists of beef and pork, steamed down with cabbage, garravansas, or large peas, together with other vegetables. The grapes, which are large and white, are the most cheap and refreshing fruit ; these, with oranges, mellons, a good glass of Xeres, or sherry wine, with their fine bread, compensate for the want of those substantial, which we have in such perfection at home. Water is an article of luxury, and is brought from springs and fountains, at some distance from the city, and is a source of trade to poor people, who employ an immense number of mules or boricos, to convey the water, in large jars, fitted in frames across their backs. Each house has a stationary jar, which is daily filled. Milk is obtained from goats ; large flocks are seen, with their drivers, at day break ; the tinkling of their bells disturbs the morning nap ; the driver brings them in to the *patio* of the house, and the milk is received into the vessel, fresh from the goat, which is rich, and healthy, and also a great article of trade. Butter, or *mantaca*, is very scarce ; that from the goats being rank, and foreign residents use imported firkin butter. The only article found in Spain, in greater perfection than in any other country, is chocolate ; which is constantly used, and made of the finest quality. The *Nevareas*, or chocolate houses, are very celebrated, and are generally crowded in the mornings. The chocolate, rich and thick, is served up in tumblers, accompanied with a sponge cake, and a glass of water. Altogether, the living in Spain, is by no means equal to the expectations of a stran-

ger ; and it is questionable, whether it is not inferior to any other country in Europe, and at the same time much dearer. Society, in Spain, offers few of those engaging resources, found in more polished and cultivated countries. Social life, derives no great charm from conversation—the females are by no means familiar with literature ; their conversation is sprightly, and frequently engaging, to which the language adds some charms ; but the subjects are generally common-place and indifferent. Their accomplishments seldom extend beyond a slight knowledge of music and dancing. There are no places of resort, except the Theatre, or Alameda, no dinner or tea-parties ; no costly routes, or pleasant *conversaciones*. A species of levee, called *Turtulias*, are customary ; these are meetings at a private house, on a particular evening in the week. There were two fashionable *Turtulias*, at Cadiz, very much frequented by Americans. At these parties, slight refreshments are offered, together with cards and country dances. I saw a priest busily engaged at one of these gaming-tables, and was informed, that gain was the prominent object.

The Cortez was in Session during my stay at Cadiz. The events of the revolution, and the absence of the king, had revived this ancient assemblage, which in better times, without possessing much influence, exhibited talents of no common order. It was composed of representatives, civil and ecclesiastical, and also deputies from South America. Three Regents were charged with executive duties ; one of whom, the Cardinal de Bourbon, a dull and heavy priest, proved in the end, the most faithful to the constitution. The arrest of Ferdinand in France, and the abdication of Charles the 4th, had entirely deranged the administration of government ; and the Spanish people, unaccustomed to the perplexing difficulties of managing internal and foreign concerns, ignorant of their own resources, and jealous of foreign influence, were wholly at a loss what steps to take. The Junta Central was then established, and the Marquis Wellesley drew up for them the best constitution adapted to their genius and disposition. This, they rejected from motives of jealousy and suspicion ; on the dissolution of this Junta, and the re-establishment of the Cortez, a new constitution was formed, defective, it is true, in many cardinal points, but sufficiently free for the Spanish people ; and confirming rights heretofore unknown to them. The Cortez held their meetings in one of the churches in the city, the doors were guarded by Spanish

soldiers, in fatigue dress and with rusty muskets. The assemblage was confused, and apparently without dignity; speakers mounted a species of forum, and I perceived at once, that the number of ecclesiastics, scattered on the floor, was of sufficient magnitude to create an undue and dangerous influence; an influence, which has been exercised to the avowed and manifest injury of that country, and which, if not wholly destroyed, will continue to keep it poor in spirit and in resources—its energy confined, and its independence destroyed.

There were but few members of the Cortez, celebrated for talents. The most distinguished for eloquence, were Cangar and Augustene Arguelles, Quintana, Rosas, and a few Deputies from South America. The two former, were indeed, the most eloquent men I had ever heard; their flow of words was rich and inexhaustible; still, it was evident, that in the fire of debate, in the bursts of patriotic sentiment, there was more enthusiasm than cool wisdom; more spirit than judgment; more energy than discretion.—The language, the finest in the world, for parliamentary and forensic eloquence, also added, not a little, to the charms of debate. A singular and marked difference, appeared in the character and feelings of the deputies from South America. They were of a different order, appeared to think more than their colleagues, in Spain, there was more perfect reliance on their judgment, and they were more familiar with affairs of Government. These deputies called themselves *Americans*, not Spaniards; they associated familiarly, with the citizens of the United States, and would generally salute us with the term *pisano meo*. My Countrymen.

At this period, the British, under Lord Wellington, commanded the entire Spanish and Portuguese forces. In a military point of view, every thing around us, was British.—Muskets and uniforms; guns and gun-carriages; British Commissaries; British gold, and British influence. Notwithstanding the amazing sacrifices made by that government in the Peninsula, notwithstanding the loss of lives and money in that contest, it was incredible to view the suspicion, jealousy, if not hostility, of the Spanish, towards their allies. They never failed to refuse any favour they had the power of conferring; they never gave to the British, the merit of gaining a single victory; and when it was known, that in battle, they have kept at a respectful distance, and suffered the British to

bear the brunt, yet, they have never failed to step in, and claim an unmerited share of the glory. During the whole contest in Spain, one solitary victory in the field, was achieved without the aid of the British, and that was the battle of Baylen, called by them the glorious battle of Baylen, in which 60,000 Spanish, under the nominal command of Castanos, but really headed by Reding, a Swiss officer of talents, compelled Dupont to surrender with 14,000 men. Although merit cannot be accorded to the Spanish army generally, or to the nobility who had command, and who were the least effective, yet great praise is due to the peasantry, for the spirit and patriotism which they evinced, from the commencement to the termination of the contest; a spirit, which neither privation could depress, nor reverse of fortune destroy. They saw their dwellings in flames, their property lost, and their families massacred, without shaking the firmness of their patriotic efforts, or surrendering their country to the controul of the invaders. The sieges, sustained by the Spaniards, particularly Saragossa, and Gerona, were highly honourable to their energy and perseverance, and on the whole, it may be said, that the Guerillas and peasantry, together with a few partizan officers, such as Ballosteros, Palfox, &c. were entitled to all the merit acquired by the Spanish, in that revolution. The operations of the French in Spain, were directed by a weak policy, not, because they have failed, but in consequence of falling into a very common, but frequently, a very fatal error, that of under-rating the power, disposition, and resources of the enemy. The French calculated on no effective resistance in Spain or Portugal; flushed with victories over more disciplined and more enlightened foes, they encountered a dangerous enemy, in arousing the pride, and wounding the feelings of the people; and what could have been acquired by mildness and deference, force and power could not effect. That the reign of Joseph Bonaparte would have been of singular benefit to Spain, cannot be denied; he commenced his administration with mildness; he would have gradually, with increase of popularity, abrogated those ancient civil, and ecclesiastical usages, which have cramped Spain and robbed her of character. He would have softened the habits, and ameliorated the condition of the people, by the introduction of literature, the establishment of schools, the advancement of the arts, and above all, by throwing open the ports, to the enterprising of all nations, by releasing commerce from its shackles, and recal-

ling those people whom the bigotry and ignorance of Spain had banished. These would have been the results of his reign; a view of France, for the last twenty years, justifies the opinion.—The Spaniards felt no great abhorrence to Joseph Bonaparte; their hatred was rather directed against Napoleon. They called Joseph the intrusive King, or familiarly *Rey Papy*, or King Joe—and appeared, in ridiculing his pretensions, to cast no reflections on his character or qualifications.

The inhabitants of Cadiz celebrated, while I was there, the Anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution, and much in the same manner as we do the Anniversary of our Independence, only with less Republican simplicity. On these occasions, the streets of Cadiz present a most picturesque appearance; from each house, having a balcony in front, the finest tapestry, richest silk, and embroidered bed-spreads are suspended, which reach within a few feet of the pavement; the streets being narrow, and ornamented thus, on each side, together with a display of flower-pots on the edge of the terraces, and well-dressed females in the balconies, an air of gaiety, splendor, and richness, is given to the whole scene, which renders it peculiarly elegant and animating. On the *Plaza de San Antonio*, a temple was erected, with an altar, covered with rich crimson velvet. A procession was formed from one of the principal churches, in which *Te Deum* had been sung. This consisted of the Walloon Guards, commanded by Foreign Officers, and their bands of music, the Uniform Companies, the Governor and Suite, the Regents of the Kingdom, the *Grandeës* of Spain, the Members of the Cortez, the Municipality, the Consulado, Foreign Consuls, &c. &c. and there the ceremony of swearing fidelity to the Constitution, was renewed.

The Cortez, alarmed by the increase of the epidemic, had resolved to remove their sittings to the *Isla de Leon*, a neat and healthy town, about six miles from Cadiz, and orders for the removal were accordingly given. The Cardinal Bourbon accompanied them; and I had an opportunity of discovering, that, in regard to equipage, no very great improvement had been made for several centuries in Spain. A low, heavy, and very ancient carriage, the pannels of carved and gilt work, lined with thick damask, was prepared for this Prelate, who, with his red hat, and purple sack and mantle, was comfortably seated, and the old coach groaned under

the weight of eatables, together with an inordinate quantity of *dolces*, or sweets, to which the Cardinal was piously attached.—His countenance had not one trace of genius, but was rather dull than interesting. Six mules were attached to the coach by ropes, each having a bell, and their bridles ornamented with silk fringe and worsted knots, were led by muleteers. The cavalcade moved on, and the guns from the ramparts fired a salute. Several *calases*, or one-horse chaises, in the antique style, brought up the rear.

The Custom-house in Cadiz is very large, and, it is said, gives employment to several hundred persons; in consequence of which, the government derives but a small share of the revenue. The obstacles thrown in the way of commerce, the excessive high duties, and the prohibition of certain articles, unite to make smuggling, not only a profitable pursuit, but a common and open profession. A cargo has been smuggled on shore in the day-time, and in sight of the custom-house; and to smuggle this cargo, the average of cost amounts to about one-half the duties. It requires, however, a knowledge of the proper men, to ensure a safe violation of the revenue, and remorse of conscience is unknown, from the effect of practice. The contraband trade in Spain, is of great value. Vast bodies of persons, scattered in every part of the kingdom, are engaged in it; the principal article is tobacco, and these *contrabandists*, known as such, ride into cities armed, and carry on the trade without fear of interruption. Carts or drays are seldom used in Cadiz, every thing is carried by *Gallagoes* or porters. These are an extraordinary and numerous body of men, possessing very singular habits. They carry a pad which rests on their neck, secured by a band round the forehead; and on this pad they convey an incredible weight. A hogshead of sugar is suspended on a pole and carried on the shoulders of two. These men are remarkable for honesty, an instance of crime is seldom known among them, and specie may be safely entrusted to any, with orders to carry it to a particular part of the city, which, in all cases, is done with fidelity. They are a cold and retiring set of people, very pale, and of moderate habits. The Post-office, or *El Correo*, is well organized; the mails arrive twice or thrice a week, and the postage, in all cases, is very trifling. It is sometimes carried on horseback, and sometimes, when large, in a covered cart.

Finding some difficulty to establish the necessary credits at Cadiz, for the release of the American seamen, at Algiers, in conse-

quence of the war, and the obstructions of commerce, I found it necessary to go round to Gibraltar. A British transport was bound to Tangiers, for cattle ; and being but a few hours sail to Gibraltar from thence, and as it would afford me an opportunity of obtaining some information, I took passage in her, in company with Mr. Keene, Mr. Barrel, now consul at Malaga, and a Scotch gentleman. We left the harbour of Cadiz in the afternoon, and passed along the coast with a pleasant breeze. A number of small villages and fishing towns, were situated on the low-land, skirting the shore. We came near Cape Trafalgar, the ancient promontory of Juno, celebrated for the victory and death of Lord Nelson. The next morning we were under Cape Spartel, the Ampelusius of antiquity, which having doubled, we entered Tangier Bay, and came to anchor at some distance from the shore. A small boat put off to us, and a stout Moor, called the Captain of the Port, on being told that we were from Cadiz, informed us, that we must first obtain *pratique* from the Governor. The town is built on a rising ground, and appeared small and mean ; the fortifications and mole were in ruins, a castle on an eminence, having a fine view of the strait, seemed crumbling to pieces ; every thing bore the appearance of decay, and of a state of peace and tranquillity. I looked round the harbour, in vain to discover the two pillars of white marble, which Procopius tells us were to be seen in his time, on which were inscribed, in the Phœnician language, “ WE ARE THE CANAANITES, WHO FLED FROM JOSHUA, THE SON OF NUN, THAT NOTORIOUS ROBBER.

There is no doubt that this part of Africa, called *Mauritania Tingitania*, was settled in the most remote periods of antiquity ; but if the statement of Procopius is true, it was yet earlier inhabited than we, at this day, are aware of. Joshua, who succeeded Moses in the command of the armies of Israel, divided the land of Canaan, in the year of the flood, 904 ; and those who were rebellious and discontented, and escaped from the control of Joshua, found this place peopled on their arrival. These pillars were seen after the time of Procopius, and are spoken of by Ibnu Raquiq, an African writer, who lived in the year 480, of the Christian æra. Pliny, and other writers, assert, that the foundation of Tingis or Tangier, was laid by *Antæus* or *Atlas* ; he was conquered by *Hercules*, in the fifth century of the flood. *Atlas*, the name given to *Antæus*, to signify tall, straight, and powerful, and from

whom the mountains in Morocco take their name, was said to have been buried in Tangier. Plutarch mentions that Sertorius, well-known as a gallant chief, caused the tomb of Antæus to be opened at Tingis, and found him to be a giant of immoderate length. The name of Tangier, is derived from the Phœnicians, signifying a mart, or place of trade. It was held by various people and provincials, until the reign of Claudius, and was then called Tingitania. Otho presented it, with other cities, to Bœtica, in Spain; and it was considered as a fief to the provincial Government of the Romans, for many centuries. This country then passed into the hands of the Goths and Vandals; Genserius, in the year 428, crossed the *Freitum Tingitanum*, with 80,000 men, and landed in Mauritania. Under the Vandal princes, the most sanguinary acts and impious measures were adopted, they held Ceuta and Tangier, and introduced licentiousness, tyranny, and the most horrible disorders. These provinces were finally released by Bellisarius, who, in 523, arrived in Africa, with a strong army, and swept that country clear of those barbarians. The Saracens, from the most remote borders of India, carried their conquering arms through Africa, and, in 722, finally extirpated Christianity from the Barbary States. The Moors held these provinces for many centuries, until their final expulsion from Spain; and, in 1473, Tangier was taken by the Portuguese. This city then, from its original founders, the Phœnicians, was considered a depot of great commercial importance; but it was not until the year 1662, that a University was established there; science and the arts being previously unknown, and disregarded in that place. In the reign of Charles the 2d of England, it was given as a dowry with Catharine, Infanta of Portugal; but the British Government, finding it expensive and unprofitable, and having sustained several heavy losses in defending it from the attacks of the Moors, finally abandoned it to them. No port is so commodiously situated for commerce; a fine bay, sufficiently extensive for an immense number of vessels, good anchorage, situated at the mouth of the Straits, near Cadiz and Gibraltar, it holds out at this day, equal advantages to any of those ports, if in the possession of a power friendly to commerce. Tangiers does not occupy at present, one-third the space it formerly did; it has little or no commerce, a few cattle are permitted to be exported, with small quantities of wheat and oranges; the principal trade is with Gibraltar.

The next morning, permission being granted, we landed on the beach, beneath the fragments of the wall. A small low building, near the gate, contained the custom-house officer, a venerable looking man, who sat cross-legged on a mat, with a talb or secretary near him, writing ; the Captain of the Port, and a few straggling persons, were all that were seen at that time. No vessels were in the harbour ; a few feluccas were loading with oranges for Gibraltar, and an air of desolation and tranquillity seemed to pervade every thing around us. We entered the city through a large gate, and a rising ground on the margin of the harbour, and passed through two or three gates before we finally arrived at the main street. To the left we perceived a mosque, with a neat minaret ; near which, stood the British Consulate. In this street, nearly all the consular houses are built ; they have a modern appearance, and the architecture is a mixture of Spanish and Moorish. We called on Mr. Simpson, the American consul, who occupies a house owned by Sir Peter Wick, many years Swedish consul for that port ; and who, at that period, was absent. Mr. Simpson received us politely, and gave me a room in his house. The other gentlemen were accommodated at a small tavern, kept by an Italian. Most of the European nations have consuls residing at Tangier ; the port designated by the Emperor of Morocco, for their residence. The British Consul has a very elegant house, a liberal salary, and the advantages of commerce, which render his situation extremely profitable. Indeed, a residence at Tangier is the most desirable for a foreign agent, of any other in the Barbary States. The pacific policy of the government, the general tranquillity and order that prevail ; the inoffensive, and, at times, good character of the Moors ; the few revolutions or wars that are prosecuted in Morocco ; unite to render a public situation by no means hazardous. Living is extremely cheap ; in fact, the cost of living in Tangier, is trivial ; the mere luxuries of life are only high, and these can be promptly obtained from Gibraltar. Situated, therefore, in a charming country ; within a few hours, sail of Gibraltar and Cadiz ; in view of every vessel passing through the Straits ; having, every few days, visitors from Spain, and hunting parties ; receiving the newspapers, and the earliest European intelligence ; in reach of assistance, if required, by the contiguity of the two Continents ; it may be truly said, that the consulate at Tangier, is the most desirable in Barbary. Mr. Simpson has resided there upwards of 20 years. He

was a merchant at Gibraltar, and is a native of Scotland ; being unfortunate in business, he came to Tangier to reside, and, at that period, we were about settling treaties with all the Regencies of Barbary ; and Col. Humphries, or the Minister at London, confided some arrangements to Mr. Simpson, which were satisfactorily executed ; and, on the definitive adoption of the treaty with Morocco, Mr. Simpson was appointed the Consul, and has not left Tangier since that period. He has a very easy situation, and is a very faithful officer, in relation to public duties ; he has no ambition, however, to be considered an American, and although enjoying the patronage of the people for a number of years, he never fails to let it be distinctly understood, that he has the honor to be born in Scotland ; and has lost none of his veneration for “ Kings, Lords, and Commons.” This is a commentary on the striking impropriety of appointing any officer to a foreign station, who is not an American Citizen, and familiarly attached to the institutions of the country. The peculiar situation in which the United States was placed, subsequent to the revolution, rendered it necessary to obtain the services abroad, of any capable and honest person, without reference to his country ; and if such duties have been faithfully discharged, the government are bound to reciprocate the good faith ; and, although at this day, the appointment of Mr. Simpson to that station would be injudicious and impolitic, his removal, under all circumstances, would be inexpedient and unjust.

Near Tangier is a very handsome garden, filled with lime and orange trees, called the Swedish Garden ; it is watered by springs and fountains ; and a neat house, which was formerly erected on that space, commanded from an eminence, a fine view of Tariffa and the Straits of Gibraltar. The market is kept in an open square, outside of the walls of the city. I saw immense quantities of game, with fine small mutton ; eggs, and poultry in abundance ; together with honey, wax, and other articles, all of which were extremely cheap. The castle, built on the hill, and overlooking the town and bay, is extremely ancient ; it was originally erected by the Romans ; and enlarged and repaired by its subsequent possessors. In this castle, Dr. Thomas Smith discovered a Roman monument, erected in honor of P. Besius, an officer of merit in the time of Trajan ; and who, among other titles, was styled *PRO. TIG. MAURITANIE TINGITANIE*. The Portuguese and English erect-

ed churches there, and the Moors established a mosque. This Castle is built in a very strong position ; facing the sea to the east and south, the bay to the west, and narrow crags and rocky hills to the north. It is falling to decay in many places. The rooms are small ; and, in the upper story, they open into a neat garden, lined with orange trees, and having a fountain in the centre. These apartments, I was informed, were appropriated to the women, the ceilings are stuccoed in the Moorish style, and the floor neatly paved with tiles. The small windows, opening towards the sea, command a view of the Straits, the coast of Spain, and the shipping entering the Mediterranean. It is, however, an immense height from the black rocks below, on which, the waves are eternally dashing, and renders escape, at that quarter, wholly impossible. On the extreme height of Cape Spartel, Mr. Simpson has a country seat, but it is seldom occupied, as the ascent is tedious and difficult ; it commands, however, a noble view of the surrounding country, and cannot fail of being a healthy retreat. I called to pay a visit to the Governor of Tangiers ; and, after having passed through several narrow and dirty streets, we found this officer seated on a mat, in a low and filthy house ; he had a secretary near him, writing on small slips of paper with a reed. The Governor wore a long and venerable beard, spoke Spanish exceedingly well ; and was affable and polite : He had been frequently, he informed us, in Cadiz and Gibraltar, and was familiar with Christian habits and manners ; he made no ceremony with us, nor offered any refreshment. He looked like a patriarch, with an open countenance, beaming with intelligence and good nature.

As I shall have occasion to dwell minutely on the habits, customs, and religion of the Musselmen, in the course of this work, I shall avoid touching on the subject at present. From comparisons, which I took occasion subsequently to make, I was perfectly satisfied, that the inhabitants of Morocco were infinitely superior to the residents in other parts of Barbary. This could be accounted for, from their origin ; as their ancestors, while possessed of Spain, were certainly the most enlightened, liberal, and gallant people, ever inhabiting that country, and whose loss is felt even at this day. Morocco is an Empire, and the sovereignty has been hereditary since the eighth century. The present Emperor is called Muly Soliman, and who must be now at a very advanced age. His

residence is sometimes at Fez, and sometimes in the city of Morocco. The naval power of the Empire, has dwindled to a few frigates and smaller vessels, in a wretched condition, which are stationed at Larache. The policy of the Emperor being distinctly known as pacific, he is, at this day, at peace with all the christian powers. On visiting the camp, near Tangier, once a year, he receives small presents from the Consuls ; consisting of tea, coffee, sugar, rice, linen, damask, &c. &c. and the expense of maintaining the public relations, is very inconsiderable. Morocco is the only country in Barbary, in which travelling may be safely prosecuted by Christians ; and merchants frequently undertake a journey from Tangier to Mogadore, and in all instances with safety. They have no christian slaves in Morocco ; a system of policy, which gives to this Empire a vast ascendancy in character, over the other States ; and Muly Soliman uses his influence, to obtain any captives which he learns have fallen into the hands of the Arabs, on the southern coast. With a powerful army well organized, and a country which defies invasion, he prudently cultivates the arts of peace ; and, without being extremely wealthy, he has, nevertheless, a command of all the resources in the kingdom. His policy is evidently anti-commercial ; and he permits but few christian residents in his ports, and has but little intercourse with Europe. To his subjects, he justifies this policy as a preventive to vitiating the religion of Mahomet, by constant intercourse with christians ; the real ground of objection is, a disposition to be clear from entangling alliances, or being made a party to any conflict in Europe. When the French were in Spain, and had approached the walls of Tariffa, within two hours sail of Tangier, a French officer told a Moor, probably in jest, that they were about visiting the dominions of his master. The Moor hastened to Morocco, gave the alarm, and, in a short time, cavalry and infantry, to the amount of 100,000 men, were under arms, and all points of embarkation were narrowly watched. The possession of Ceuta by the Spaniards, has always been a subject of deep regret to Morocco, and innumerable attempts have been made, to wrest that place from them. Such, however, is the strength of the fortifications, and the ignorance of the Moors, in relation to sieges generally, that every attempt, though accompanied with great sacrifices, has failed.—The Spaniards between whom and the Moors, no great difference exists, except as to religion, now tranquilly occupy

that important fortress, which is also a prison for state captives, and a receptacle for galleÿ slaves. Towards his subjects the Emperor of Morocco is said to exercise great severity ; and, in common with other despots in Barbary, he is not remarkable for principle or mildness towards them. An anecdote, illustrative of this disposition, was related to me at Tangier ; a Moorish merchant, by the name of Sidi Hamet, well known in Cadiz and Gibraltar, had, in the course of many years of successful commerce, amassed immense wealth ; and, for a number of years, although residing in sight of his native country, had not paid it a visit, or rendered to his Sovereign the homage of his respects.—He suddenly came to the determination of visiting Tangier ; and, on his arrival there, with a considerable sum of money, brought with him for commercial purposes, he was arrested by order of the Emperor. An intrigue was then set on foot, by some subordinate officers, with a view of obtaining his money, to have him strangled ; and it was represented to Muly Soliman, that for many years he had preferred a residence among christians ; had never entered a mosque, or fulfilled the duties of religion ; and, in short, had forfeited his allegiance to his sovereign. These, and other inflated representations, induced the Emperor to issue an order for his execution. Hamet, whose presence of mind in this exigency did not forsake him, demanded to see the Emperor, prior to his death ; stating, that he had some important secrets to disclose, touching his safety, and that of the Mahomedan Religion. The demand could not be evaded, and he was brought into the presence of the Emperor. He then stated, that in the course of many years' residence among the Christians, the Prophet had blessed him with wealth and prosperity, and feeling desirous of ending his days in his native country, he had, preparatory to his final removal, from Europe, crossed over to Tangier, for the purpose of announcing his intention to the Emperor ; that he brought with him \$10,000, as a present to his majesty ; but, that several persons, with a view of obtaining this money, and depriving the Emperor of his rights, had conspired against his life. He demanded an interview, to secure this sum to his majesty, and soliciting his permission to bring away the residue of his possessions, which otherwise, would fall into the hands of the Christians. This statement turned the tide in his favour ; the Emperor received the present, gave permission to

Hamet to go over to Gibraltar, and bring his property away. Hamet returned to Europe ; and, since that period, it may be fairly inferred, he has evinced no disposition to revisit Tangier, upon a commercial speculation, after the costly escape he had made. As illustrative of a nobleness and generosity of character among the Moors, another anecdote was related to me. During the war in the peninsula, transports, and other government vessels were frequently sent from Gibraltar to Tangier ; but, to prevent quarantine, these vessels had no connection with the shore ; and strict orders were given, to permit no Moor to come on board. A sloop of war, arriving from Cadiz, anchored in the bay ; and the captain of the port, an athletic man, of fine feelings, and good character, and perfectly conversant with the English and Spanish languages, got into his skiff, and paddled towards the vessel. He got under the stern, and, before he was observed, he reached the deck. The lieutenant on watch, enraged at the violation of orders, and the fear of quarantine, in a moment of forgetfulness, seized a rope, and very severely beat the Moor, who got into his skiff and returned to the port ; he made no complaint ; told no one of the circumstance ; although, a greater outrage cannot be offered by a Christian to a Musselman, he watched an opportunity to retaliate ; the lieutenant was compelled to land on business ; he returned to the beach at dusk ; the gates of the town were shut ; no boat was ready to receive him ; the whistling of the wind drowned his voice ; he walked the beach in agitation, when the captain of the port accosted him ; and, on learning his situation, prepared his skiff and rowed him to his vessel. “ You may remember, Sir,” said he, “ when in the execution of the duties of my office, I landed on the deck of this ship ; you disgraced me by beating me with a rope ; and, without provocation, I could have thrown you from my skiff into the sea, and thus have taken satisfaction ; but you entrusted yourself to me, and I guarantee your safety ; this Sir,” said he, as he pushed off from the vessel, “ is the vengeance of a Moor.” Feelings thus noble and elevated are very rare ; particularly on the Barbary coast. An event occurred, while I was in the Mediterranean, of a very different character. An English brig of war, called the Haughty, and commanded by a captain Harvey, while convoying a Portuguese vessel, was brought to by an Algerine frigate, and the captain was ordered to come on board. On his arrival on the deck of the fri-

gate, he was assailed in the most abusive language by the *Rais*, for convoying the Portuguese ; who concluded his lecture, by beating captain Harvey severely with his long pipe, and after thus disgracing him, ordered him in his boat. Captain Harvey made strong representations of this national and individual outrage, to the British government ; but, at that period, their commercial policy rendered it necessary to hush the matter up.

A Felucca with fruit, was bound to Gibraltar, and we took our departure, about 9 o'clock in the morning, with a fair breeze ; which, together with the current rushing throught the Straits, we calculated would bring us to that port in four hours. The currents, which set with so much rapidity in the mouth of the Straits, have for many ages been objects of speculation to the philosopher, and the man of science. It has been, by some, considered, that as much water issues from the Mediterranean, as comes in from the Atlantic, and thereby, counter-currents are created ; but, it is evident, that whatever currents may exist on the margin of the shore, the strong and powerful one sets in the Straits. The Mediterranean, it is true, receives the waters of several rivers, the Rhone, the Danube, the Dneiper, and Dneister ; the Nile and several others, which, no doubt, disembody great quantities of water ; yet, it will be recollected, that the vapour and wind absorb a great portion of these waters, and give to the supply from the Atlantic, a powerful predominance. If, pursuing the theory of learned men, we are to suppose, that the Mediterranean was formerly closed at the Pillars of Hercules, and some convulsion of nature, broke through the barrier, nothing can be more conclusive, than, that the force of the Atlantic, rushing through the narrow aperture, must have created this current ; which, the waters of the Mediterranean have not had sufficient power to subdue. We coasted pleasantly on the African side, and passed the *Mons Abyla* of antiquity ; now, called Apes Hill, a large and curiously shaped mountain, which penetrates deep in the country. This forms a part of a chain of rugged and irregular mountains, whose summits are not unfrequently capped with snow. There are many valleys and precipices ; and some plains fruitful and cultivated. We had a view of Tariffa ; a walled town, situated on the European side of the Straits, and of great antiquity. This was, originally, the Julia Traducta of the Romans ; and also was erected on the scite of a Phœnician town. Many wri-

ters have placed the ancient Cartea on this spot ; this, however, could not be the case, for Mela and other Geographers, placed Cartea, once so celebrated, in a bay, near Mons Calpe, and the ruins of which, are even now partly to be seen, at the bottom of Gibraltar Bay. Pliny places Julia Traducta on the African side, which Strabo confirms, by calling it Juliam Josam. There is no doubt, notwithstanding this contrariety of opinion, among ancient writers, that Julia Traducta was placed where Tariffa now stands ; for, on that spot, no other town, except Cartea, was said to be erected ; and it has been very satisfactorily shown, that Cartea was built between Algeciras and Gibraltar, at the head of the bay. Tariffa, built a castle on the eminence of that town, and fortified it considerably. The Moors retained possession of it near 600 years ; and it was finally taken, after a long siege, by Sancho, king of Castile, in 1292. The Moors made several desperate attempts to regain it ; they considered it the key to the Straits, and from the facility of hauling up their light barks on the beach, under the walls, they viewed it as an important maritime town. The king of Grenada offered twenty two castles, and twenty-thousand crowns in money, but the gallant Alonzo Perez De Gusman, who defended it, refused the offer. Prince Henry, tempted, however, by the extent of the offer, endeavoured to persuade Don Perez to accept it ; this was refused, in consequence of which, a dispute arose, that terminated by many Christians joining the Moors in the siege of this place, which, nevertheless, was unsuccessful. Still bent on occupying Tariffa, and with a remarkable perseverance, the Moors, in 1340, made a desperate effort to regain all their possessions in Spain ; and, after a preparation of five months, in crossing the Straits with their armament, they landed 400,000 foot and 70,000 horse, a number which they never before brought into the field.— They divided their forces, which were defeated at Salado ; they raised the siege of Tariffa, and repaired, after sundry battles, to Grenada. Thus ended every attempt on this important place ; and, since that period, it has gone to decay. The fortifications are in a ruined state, yet, in 1812, a small British detachment, under the command of a colonel of engineers, stood a long siege, and prevented the French from getting possession of it. On the opposite, or African side, stands Ceuta, a most important and strong fortress, while in the hands of the Spaniards, of very little advantage to

them, yet a cause of jealousy to other powers. Ceuta was built by the Goths; *Septa*, from which it derives its name, was the *Septime Fratres*, built on one of the hills, near where the fortress now stands. Much contrariety of opinion is expressed, as to the locality of these places.

We entered the fine Bay of Gibraltar, and came to anchor with our Felucca, near the water-port gate. The Bay was crowded with shipping; several men of war, a number of Tartans, galliots, Xebeques, and small coasters. On the opposite side of the Bay, lay Algeciras, so celebrated in Moorish history; at the bottom, a sandy beach, leading to a rising ground of gradual ascent, on the top of which, lay the small town of St. Roque, finely situated; a narrow strip of land, running from the Rock of Gibraltar, to the Spanish possessions, over which, the Mediterranean is seen.—Every thing around us was warlike; batteries ranging the shores, and rising one above the other, pointed out the importance of the place, and its strong works of defence. Even the Rock, at an extreme height, was perforated, and cut into various chambers; out of which, the surly mouths of cannon were seen, frowning defiance on the surrounding objects. The mole was crowded with porters, and persons engaged in landing cargoes, from the vessels in the Bay. Mr. Keene went on shore, to obtain permission for Mr. Barrel and myself to land; there were two American gentlemen residing in the garrison, Mr. Sprague, and Mr. Blodget; application was made without effect; Mr. Gavino, the former consul, declined interfering, and the governor would not consent to our landing. Night came on, and it began to rain terribly; we were exceedingly uncomfortable in a little Felucca, laden with fruit, having no cabin; and resolving not to pass the night in that situation, we boarded a large Xebeque, which lay near us; the captain, a Genoese, permitting us to pass the night with him, and we took up our quarters in a large and comfortable cabin. The Xebeque was laden with wine, from Malta, and mounted four guns, to protect her from the Corsairs of Barbary. Several captains of small craft, laying near us, came on board to spend the evening. The cabin was clean and spacious; a small image of the Virgin was placed in a niche, near the windows; before which, a light burned, and several pictures of saints were hung up, as protectors to the pious voyagers. Sardinias, stewed with oil, and sea biscuit, were served up in a rude way; each, with a wooden spoon, helped himself out

of the large earthen dish, and they drank common red wine out of tin mugs. Their conversation, which was carried on in Italian, related principally to commerce. The Genoese, who never leave the Mediterranean, except to coast along the shores of Spain and Portugal, carry on a very active trade with their small vessels; they come down with Greeks, from Rhodes, Cyprus, the Morea, Zante, Corsica, Malta, and ports of Italy, laden with wine, fruits, &c. which they exchange for colonial produce, and British goods.—Gibraltar, is a free port, and receives no duty, except a trifle on spirits, and a few other articles. Through the exertions of Mr. Cardoza, a wealthy merchant, and Mr. Sprague, we were permitted to land, and had a card, with the period of our stay written upon it. We passed through the gate, and up the main street, filled with stores; drays and porters; merchants with hurried looks; Moors; Jews from Barbary; British soldiers; Spanish contrabandists; muleteers; Genoese sailors; all mixed and confused, denoting a population, at once active and spirited. We stopped at the Crown, a large tavern, facing the *Plaza*, and kept by an Irish lady, where we were accommodated with a room, at two dollars per day, exclusive of boarding; a proof at once, that living was exceedingly expensive at Gibraltar. Mr. Sprague, whose name is familiar to the people of the United States, and endeared by the recollection of many acts of kindness and hospitality, was permitted to reside in the garrison; although war had been some time declared. His presence was of the utmost importance to his countrymen, many of whom were rescued from prison ships, by his exertions, and also by the zeal and exertions of Mr. Blodget. The Commander of the naval forces on that station, was a native American, called Linzee, born in Boston, and is an admiral in the British service. Prior to the declaration of war, a number of vessels, laden with flour, sailing under a British license, arrived at Gibraltar; admiral Linzee, accustomed to associate generally, with the Americans, had invited a party to take breakfast with him, on board of his flag ship; after the company had returned to the shore, the arrival of a vessel, communicated the tidings, that war had been declared. The admiral, not satisfied with taking possession of all the American ships in the Bay, sent orders to the garrison, to cause the American captains, who had just quitted his cabin, after partaking of his hospitality, to be arrested as prisoners of war. The town serjeants went in pursuit of them; and Mr. Sprague,

apprised of the order, caused them to be carried over to Algeciras ; and placed out of the reach of harm. There was something in this step of the admiral's insufferably mean ; not warranted by the strict performance of duty, and not sanctioned by considerations of hospitality. These captains were protected by licenses, such as they were, and had just left his table. The circumstance of admiral Linzee's being an American by birth, may have induced him to adopt measures of a more rigorous character, in order to remove suspicion of any national bias ; but, in this determination, he paid a poor compliment to the liberality and confidence of the British government. Among the American vessels, seized after the declaration of war was known at Gibraltar, was the ship *Alleghany*.— This vessel was freighted by the United States, to carry stores to Algiers, in conformity with the stipulations of the Treaty. She arrived at a period, when the Dey calculated that he could conveniently extort something extra from us ; and finding fault with the articles, he ordered the ship away, and the consul and his family likewise. Mr. Lear, from the information received from the United States, joined to a refusal on the part of the British Consul, to give him a passport, must have had sufficient reason to believe, that war was about being declared. He left Algiers, in the *Alleghany* ; and contrary to the maxims of common prudence, he avoided all the Spanish ports, and anchored in the Bay of Gibraltar ; and, while visiting the garrison, the declaration of war arrived, and the ship was seized and confiscated. In ten minutes, she could have run over to Algeciras, in Spanish waters, and saved upwards of \$25,000 to the United States.

The principal object of my visit to Gibraltar, was to establish the necessary credits, for the attempt which Mr. Keene was about making, to ransom our captives. This, during a state of war, was extremely difficult ; the suspension of all commercial intercourse ; the indefinite period to which the duration of the war might be confined ; and the closing of the Mediterranean to our vessels ; combined to shake confidence, and presented a barrier to the negotiation of Bills of Exchange. Mr. Sprague, however, on reading my instructions, relative to that object, very readily offered to make the necessary advances ; satisfied with the power they conferred, and from his knowledge of the persons thus confined, that an effort should be made for their release without delay. A Spanish Polacre

was bound to Algiers, or a port near Algiers, in which Mr. Keene procured a passage ; and, prior to his departure, I gave him the following instructions :—

“GIBRALTAR, JANUARY 20, 1814.

“Don Raynal R. Keene, Gibraltar.

“SIR—You will, on the receipt of this letter, proceed by the most direct route, and with as little delay as possible, to Algiers, and there endeavour to negotiate for the release of such citizens of the United States as may be held at present in captivity by that Regency. I have only information of twelve persons, who composed the crew of the Brig Edwin, of Salem, including Mr. Pollard of Norfolk, who was taken out of a Spanish vessel ; and I have every reason to believe, that no addition to that number has since been made.—Should success attend your efforts, and you can obtain their immediate release, you are authorised to go as far as three thousand dollars a man, and to draw on Horatio Sprague, esquire, of this place, at thirty or sixty days after sight, for the necessary disbursements. In procuring the sums which may be required, it is proper to caution you against the impositions practised by those who loan money in Algiers, and who take advantage of the want of a regulated exchange. It would be preventing extortion, therefore, to procure the amount in small sums, from different persons, so as to insure a moderate premium. After having obtained their release, you will provide a safe conveyance for them to any port in Spain, from which they can depart for their country. You will carefully abstain from letting it appear that the United States are acquainted with your object, or authorise your proceedings. On the contrary, let it be distinctly understood, that the relief proposed, proceeds direct from the friends of the parties.

“The situation of these persons has excited a warm sympathy among their countrymen, and produced an anxious desire on the part of the government to obtain their release. Your agency will, therefore, require perseverance and circumspection, and I trust that no efforts, consistent with the foregoing instructions, will be wanting on your part to ensure success in the attempt.

have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

M. M. NOAH.

United States' Consul, Tunis.”

Having therefore, as I conceived, commenced this negotiation under favourable auspices, it was necessary to await the issue. I was long satisfied, that the government was but indifferently acquainted with the character and policy of the Algerines, and that the period had arrived, when we should set an example to the world. I therefore deemed it necessary to ascertain the precise and specific views of the Dey, in the adjustment of the existing hostilities, in order that preparation might be made to meet whatever he might decide upon. I depended, therefore, on Mr. Keene, for information of the utmost importance, and very readily awaited his return. *

Gibraltar is the *Mons Calpe* of antiquity ; and historians are at variance as to the period of its first settlement, and the towns erected on its scite. It is by some contended, that Heraclea stood where Gibraltar is now built ; others say, that the town of Calpe was built on the summit of the Rock. Some place Cartea on this spot ; but Strabo, who was the most precise historian in his time, places Cartea at forty *stadia* from *Mons Calpe*. It is well known, that five miles north-west from the land port of Gibraltar, and nearly at the bottom of the Bay, the ruins of an extensive town are to be seen ; these evidently are Phœnician. They are situated on the Guadarante, at a place called Rocabillo. This town was built by Hercules ; as several coins, bearing his bust with the club and lion skin, have been found. Other medals and coins, with the *Caput Turritum* and Cartea perfectly legible on them, are in the possession of antiquarians at Gibraltar ; and not many years ago, an amphitheatre and several important ruins were discovered on the spot, all of which, unite to establish that celebrated City, the *Melic Cartea* of the Phœnician Hercules, at this place. Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that no town was erected on the Rock of Gibraltar, until the year 713 of the Christian æra, when it was taken possession of by the Moors. This, however, may be accounted for. The settlements, formed by the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Romans, were for commercial and agricultural purposes ; and they passed by this barren rock, and built towns and villages in the fertile vallies near its base. The quick-sighted Moors occupied it for purposes of defence ; and it continued in their possession under many vicissitudes, from 713 to the year 1462. What seems to confirm the general impression, that no city of antiquity was built on this rock, is, that no remains of ancient

structures are to be found ; and no antiquities, except those strictly Moorish, have been discovered. On the occupancy of Mons Calpe by the Moors, it changed its name to Tarif or Tharic, after a celebrated Moorish Captain, and it was by them commonly called Gibel Tarif—hence the corruption of Gibraltar, or high Mountain. *Gibbel* the Arabic name for Mountain, and *alta* the Spanish phrase for *high* or lofty. The Castle, built at that period by the Moors, and, by its inscriptions, erected during the reign of the Caliph Valid, is still to be seen. The Moors held this place until it was wrested from them by King Ferdinand ; and the Spaniards retained peaceable possession, not having fortified it strongly, until 1333, when the King of Morocco sent his son over with an army, who laid siege to Gibraltar. Alonzo, King of Castile, impressed at that period with the importance of the place, sent strong succours to release the garrison, and put them under the command of the Knights of St. James, Calatrava, and Alcantara, Knights, the most gallant of any age, and the very flower of chivalry. The Moors, finding that succours were about arriving, fought with their usual fury ; they invented and used every destructive engine that could be invented, and the garrison, after five months siege, surrendered to Abomilec. The finest provinces of Spain, at that period, were under the controul of Moorish Princes, who, finding that the Christian Powers were pressing them on all sides, entered into alliances, for the purposes of common defence. Abomilec, who styled himself King of Algeciras, formed a treaty with Mahomet, King of Grenada ; and the forces of these Moorish Allies, prevented Alonzo from hazarding a battle, who, nevertheless, continued to besiege Gibraltar, until a rebellion broke out in Castile, which required his presence to arrest ; and he then concluded an armistice with the Moors ; which ended in a truce for four years. At the conclusion of this truce, Don Alonzo, of Castile, whose enterprize and bravery were unparalleled, determined to renew his attack on Gibraltar, and dispossess the barbarians of that important fortress. This attempt was made under great disadvantages ; Alonzo found it necessary to conciliate several rebellious Chiefs, who promised submission and succours, but who finally broke their word, and embarrassed the progress of the gallant King. Alonzo, however, appeared before Gibraltar, but his rebellious Chiefs once more created a disturbance in Castile, which again compelled him to raise the siege, and return to his kingdom. After allaying the ferment,

and finding the Moors were shaken by internal commotions, still having his favourite project at heart, he appeared, with an army well provided, once more beneath the frowning battlements of the Moorish fortress. Threatened with outward danger, the Moors quieted their internal commotions, and all united for the common defence. The King of Castile found it necessary to conciliate Don Pedro, King of Arragon, who blockaded Gibraltar by sea, to prevent African succours. The christians threw up immense works before the town, and the Moors made frequent sorties from the garrison, and checked their operations. The Moors, harrassed by repeated sallies, finding no relief from Africa, disheartened and dispirited, were about submitting, when the plague broke out in the christian camp, which spread with the utmost rapidity. Alonzo, thus perilously situated, was advised to raise the siege, which he refused ; and being himself seized with the disorder, he fell a victim to its ravages on the 26th of March, 1350 ; and ended a life of admirable bravery in his 39th year. Although the death of Alonzo relieved the Moors from an active and inveterate foe, they gave a proof of that high minded and noble character, for which they have been eminently distinguished ; they took no advantage of the confusion in the Christian Camp, to sally from the fortress and destroy them ; on the contrary, they suspended hostilities on that day, and the body of the gallant king was carried to Cordova. Peter, the cruel, who succeeded Alonzo, carried on the siege, and though Gibraltar could have been taken, he finally abandoned the project. Gibraltar, in the reign of Henry the Fourth of Castile and Leon, was taken by the first Duke of Medina Sidona, after a short siege, and partly by stratagem. In 1540, Rais Hamet, attached to the squadron of Barbarossa, surprized Gibraltar, and, after pillaging the place, set sail with his booty ; but, on leaving the Rock, he encountered fourteen Sevilian galleys, who took the barbarians and recovered the booty. In 1607, the Dutch, under Admiral Hemskirk, destroyed, in Gibraltar Bay, the Spanish Squadron, and killed d'Avila, their Admiral. Spain, impressed with the importance of holding Gibraltar, took every precaution to fortify it strongly. At this period, most of the Moors being driven from Spain, took refuge in the Barbary States ; and being enraged against the Christians, for the accumulation of evils which they had suffered, from having been dispossessed of the finest country on earth, which their spirit and enterprise had made a second Paradise, vowed eternal vengeance,

and commenced that system of piracy, which they have been permitted, too successfully, to prosecute to this day. James 2d, King of England, finding that the British commerce in the Mediterranean, suffered from their depredations, sent Sir Robert Mansel, with four frigates and three smaller vessels, to attack Algiers ; which project completely failed. It was at that period, that the commercial policy of England, in relation to the Barbary States, took its rise. On the failure of that attempt, they considered it prudent to keep at peace with the pirates of Barbary ; to conciliate them by presents and tributes, while they urged and encouraged their depredations on the Christian Powers, in the Mediterranean ; and while the Corsairs of Algiers, Salee, Tunis, and Tripoli, made war on the Spaniards, Dutch, and other Powers, in that quarter, England kept at peace ; and this policy, which led to the captivity of so many thousand Christians, they invariably pursued for near one hundred years ; until their own sufferings, joined to the powerful remonstrance of Europe, induced that Cabinet to fit out the late expedition, under Lord Exmouth. In 1702, Anne, Queen of England, declared war against Spain ; and, in 1704, the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, with his auxiliary forces, together with Sir George Rooke, Admiral Byng, Sir Cloudesly Shovel, names celebrated in British Naval History, formed also by the Dutch, under Admirals Collingberg, Wassanaer, and Vanderdussen, attacked Gibraltar by sea and land ; and after a brave attack and gallant defence, it surrendered to the allies, and the Treaty of Utrecht confirmed Gibraltar to the British. The Spaniards and French, satisfied of the important results in the possession of this fortress ; or rather, by dispossessing the British of it, made various attempts to regain possession of Gibraltar ; and, in the number of sieges, which, subsequent to its capture, by the English, it has sustained, Spain lost an immense number of men and great treasure. The last attack, at the close of the American War, when it was defended by General Elliott, put an end to any further attempts to regain it. Gibraltar, from its position as a key to the Mediterranean, will ever be considered of the utmost importance to the British. A disposition was manifested, during the late revolution in Spain, to possess themselves of Ceuta. This, they could have taken without much difficulty ; but Spain has ever refused to surrender that position, on any terms ; and the British, con-

sidering that they had no naval force, and that Ceuta was an inefficient fortress in their hands, did not press their claim to its transfer. From the present barren appearance of Gibraltar, and the sterile aspect of the Rock, it would seem that it never had been cultivated. The Moors, however, made it a perfect garden; and with their accustomed industry, they not only cultivated every spot capable of producing vegetable life, but they planted groves of orange trees on the spot, outside of the walls, where now a barren waste of sand appears. While the Spaniards possessed this place, they crowded it with houses, convents, churches, &c. The British quickly reduced the number, turned their convents into barracks, and rendered it, what, from its strength and position, (it was intended to be) a garrison town. The majority of inhabitants at present, are Spaniards and Genoese. Those born on the Rock, professing the same Religion as the Spaniards, pursue generally the same customs; they have a large and well-built Chapel, situated in the main street. In 1754, the number of inhabitants amounted to 1810; of which 782 were Catholics, and 604 were Jews.—These, added to the military, amounted to about 6000, and it may be questionable, whether more than 10,000 persons, including the military, now occupy Gibraltar. The Jews have one large and three small Synagogues; and a great portion of the commerce of that port, is in their hands. The lower order emigrate from Barbary, and bring with them their customs, and dress; they are mostly porters and labouring men. There are some Jewish Houses immensely wealthy, and highly respectable, among them, those of Benoliel and Cordoza may be enumerated. There were but three Americans residing in the garrison during my visit, Messrs. Sprague, Blodget, and O'Sullivan. During the war, living and house rent were uncommonly dear, provisions were scarce, and indifferent; and the confined situation of Gibraltar, its crowded population, the heat in summer, its military organization, and immense works of defence, frowning on all sides, combine to render it a residence by no means pleasant or agreeable. Among the curiosities on the Rock of Gibraltar, is St. Michael's cave, situated upwards of a thousand feet above the horizon. This is visited by all strangers. Part of a strong Moorish wall runs near it. The entrance to the cave commences with a slope, which terminates at the end of the large cave, upwards of two hundred feet long and ninety feet wide; there are several pillars, formed of petrifications, from thirty to

forty feet in height ; which, as it were, support the roof, formed into a variety of petrified arches. The *stalactea* or stony icicles, hang dripping from every part, and the glare of the torches, reflected from a thousand concrete and spar gems, sheds a brilliancy round this cave, which renders it surprisingly beautiful. The descent through the various chambers has been pursued for upwards of five hundred feet ; and, if it was not for the confined air, and the danger of losing the path to the entrance, it could, in all probability, be traced to an immense distance. In this cave a species of small monkey is found, with a ruff around its neck. These are known in Africa ; but none have ever been found on the Spanish side, which leads naturalists to believe, that there is a connection of the two Continents, at this point. Although the soil of this rocky peninsula, partakes of a variety of character, partly black and rich, light, loose, and some of red sand, still it is fertile at its base, and produces garden stuff in abundance, together with the white and red grape.

There is a noble hospital, erected to the southward of the new mole, capable of accommodating an immense number of seamen and soldiers, and improvements are daily making in the garrison, which, in time, with a decrease of population, may render it an agreeable residence. Society, as in all garrison towns, is much divided. The military having little or no connection with the citizens, and associating principally among themselves. The Moorish Castle, erected on the north end of the rock, is an object of curiosity. This was commenced in the year 711 of the Christian æra ; and, from its position and ruins, it was, doubtless, a magnificent building. The ruins of reservoirs, baths, and arched galleries, are still to be seen, together with terraces, square towers, and loop holes. There were two Moorish inscriptions on this castle, which, though much defaced by time, were still deciphered. The Moors pronounce the inscription on the gate, as follows :—*“ El Nesru Vel Temyedo Vel Fetch el Mubin ly mulana, aby abdilahy, amir el Muselmin mulana aby al Hajaj Ebn Yusef amir el Muselmin Ebn mulana uby al Walid, Nasaru allah.”* This is translated as follows : “ Prosperity and peace to our sovereign and slave of God, king of the Moors, our sovereign Aby al Hajaj, son of Joseph or Jusef, king of the Moors, son of our sovereign *Aby al Walid*, whom God preserve.” This at once confirms the tradition, that this

Moorish Castle was commenced during the Caliphate of Walid. On the upper tower, the Moors pronounce the inscription as follows : “ *Lilah el Afyatu el Afya. Lilah el Boqui Yatu el Boquiya. El Boquiya, lilah el Afyatu el Afya.* ” Translated thus : “ To the God that pacifies, and of peace ; and to the God that lasts for ever.” “ To the God, &c. Nothing is so admirable, as the unaffected vein of piety, which pervades every thing in Moorish life. The name and majesty of God, is never forgotten by them ; and although they do not, like the Israelites of old, bind it on their frontlets, and on the posts of their doors, it is ever uppermost in their thoughts ; and in all vicissitudes of life, they inscribe to him, Glory and Omnipotence. The Moors, when the English possessed Tangier, addressed a letter to Earl Tiveot, the governor, on affairs of importance ; which they commenced as follows : “ In the name of God, gracious and merciful, whose blessing be upon our Lord, Mahomet, and his family. To the mighty, honorable, glorious, and most excellent lord and governor of Tangier, God perpetuate your excellency’s honour and glory, and vouchsafe your perseverance in grandeur and felicity ; happiness unto you with the odours of a glorious name shall continually breathe out their fragrances, and let God continue and prosper both you and your estate, according to your wishes.” These compliments, bear all the character of the most refined periods of Moorish history, and would not have done discredit to the Talb of Haroun al Rachid.

I paid a visit to Algeciras, a Spanish town, on the opposite side of the Bay, and the most distinguished in the history of that country, for its sieges and battles, particularly as being the first town besieged, where cannon was used. We crossed in a large ferry boat, filled with Spanish peasants, returning from market, with soldiers and seamen going over to Algeciras, where a small garrison is kept. Our passage was concluded in twenty minutes, with a pleasant breeze. A tin cup was handed about among the passengers, by a boy, to receive donations for *las animas benditas*, or souls in purgatory. Each gave an *achova*, a small copper coin, the value of a farthing ; all of which was emptied in a pocket handkerchief, and left on the bench in the boat ; superstition being its guardian, as no one ever steals the money collected for masses, said for the souls in purgatory ; because, with the numerous battalions of Priests, in Spain, not a mass is said gratis.

We landed on a decayed Mole, and proceeded along the beach, until we ascended the narrow streets to the *Posada*. We passed by a *plaza*, or place for promenade, the neatest I saw in Spain ; it was situated in a small square, and as usual, a Cathedral facing the entrance, and was elevated about three feet from the street, and paved with neat flag stones, surrounded by stone benches, with trees, and having a fountain at one end. We put up at the *Posada de San Hosea*, a close and confined building, exhibiting no prospect of comfort or convenience. Nevertheless, the party, which consisted of several American gentlemen, had a good dinner provided. Whilst we were occupied at the table, a Spaniard, with his cloak thrown carelessly over his shoulder, and a heavy cane in his hand, came unceremoniously into the room, and inquired if any Jews were in company, as he was ordered to watch them, while they remained in town. A young gentleman, from Gibraltar, a co-relegionarie of mine was amongst us, and felt very uneasy at the visit. I arose, for the purpose of gallanting the gentleman out of the room, with as little ceremony as he entered it, when an American captain, indignant at the insult, and a perfect stranger to such customs, anticipated me, by springing up, seizing the Don by the collar, and dismissing him with two or three uncourteous shakes. We expected to see an Alcalde, with two or three grim Alguazils, to inquire into the affair, but we heard no more of the gentlemen.—Algeciras is proverbial for containing all the rogues, banditti, privateersmen, and renegadoes, in that quarter of Spain ; and the stil-ttoe is a very common instrument, and exercised frequently with impunity. A man entered the church, and, at the foot of the altar, murdered a mother and daughter, he continued unmolested in the Church, as a sanctuary, which superstition guarantees as such. Castanos, who commanded in Algeciras, had sufficient firmness to send a file of men and drag him away ; he was sent to work in the fortifications at Ceuta, being the extent of his punishment. Assassinations are not alone common in Spain, and particularly in this place, but a custom is established, which tends to familiarize and perpetuate these horrid practises. Whenever a person falls by the hand of an assassin, a cross is erected ; if on the road, a small stone, or wooden cross, is fixed in the ground ; if in a city, it is nailed against the walls of the houses. These frequent symbols of murder are offensive to the eye ; they cast a gloom on surrounding objects, and do not produce reformation, on the con-

trary, the influence of example rather confirms vicious and dangerous propensities.

We called to see Don Cosmo Burlini, American Vice Consul, a very obliging and civil man, in good repute ; and afterwards, visited the Theatre. A strolling company, of the very lowest order, were performing the play of Charles the fifth, or the siege of Tunis.— Between the acts, I availed myself of permission to visit the green room, and found the King disrobed of his royal habiliments, taking a nap on a bench, and his Queen, with her tinselled finery, very composedly smoking a *papilito*, or small segar, made of paper and tobacco. It is no uncommon thing for Spanish women to smoke when alone. A *bolero* was danced tolerably well, and a *Scymate*, or one act comedy, concluded the entertainment. Among the spectators was the governor of Algeciras, a very intelligent and liberal Spaniard, a native of Havanna ; also a British admiral, by the name of Fleming, who had served much in Spain, spoke the language, and was attached to their habits and customs, I also perceived, in the stage box, a lady who was the Belle of Algeciras, and well known in Gibraltar ; her name was Menachie, she was legally speaking, a “*femme coverte*,” her husband having left her, to reside in America ; she was extremely handsome and accomplished ; and appeared to be a very general favourite.

I devoted part of a day, to examine the environs of the town ; and if possible, to trace those remains of antiquity, for which, this place was remarkable. The country around Algeciras, is a level gradually descending as far as the eye can reach, and a range of mountains runs from the north-west, and forms a line, which separates Cadiz from Gibraltar, to the south, finely situated on the summit of a mountain, lay St. Roque, distance about six miles ; opposite Algeciras, the Rock of Gibraltar rises to an immense height, and its frowning battlements, overlooking a noble bay, filled with shipping. I passed out of Algeciras, at the south-west, and shortly come to a Roman bridge, in excellent repair, but extremely narrow, hardly affording a passage for a carriage ; it was paved with pebble stones, and the cement was as firm and durable as the stone ; the bed of the river was dry. On the main road, leading to St. Roque, I perceived several fields cultivated, and on examining the soil with attention, I discovered it to be bleached with bones, and perfectly whitened with the skeletons of those

who had fallen in the numerous battles, near this place. With a small cane, I turned up the soft and chalky soil, and near the surface, removed a number of skulls, which rolled about me, as if to recal the memory of those wonderful and striking events, which had occurred in Spain, probably near this spot, which seems to have been the focus, or rallying point with Moors and Christians. I seated myself on a rock, projecting from the road, and surrounded by this golgotha, in view of Algeciras, and deliberated on these events, which, for so many centuries, this country had witnessed.

The establishment of the Arab power in Asia, and its rapid progress through Europe and Africa, form decidedly the most interesting epochs in history ; but, to view these people in all their glory and refinement, they must be seen in Spain, and under the reign of the Caliphs. After the second Punic war, which drove the Carthagenians from Spain, the Romans held it peaceably, for six hundred years. Undisturbed by foreign powers, unused to the science of arms, their helmets laid aside, and their spears corroded with rust, they degenerated from the valour and worth of their ancestors ; and fell an easy prey to those barbarians, whose hardy enterprize led them through Europe and Africa. Alaric led the Goths to Rome, while the Vandals, after scouring the provinces of Gaul and Germany, rushed, like a torrent, through Spain, and desolated that fine country, with fire and sword. History is somewhat confused, in affording dates to the destruction of important cities and provinces in Spain. We find it difficult to decide, who destroyed Cartea ; although, it is known, that Gondenic, in the four hundred and twenty fifth year of the Christian æra, destroyed all the important towns in Andalusia, and put the inhabitants of Seville to the sword. Genseric, who was in Mauritania Tingitania, passed over to Spain with an army, and landed near where Cartea stood ; that is, on the banks of the Guadarrante. I saw the spot, from where I was seated ; here, he had a battle with the Sueves, and overcame them ; but, being compelled to return to Africa, he had no time to improve his victory. In 438, Richilus, one of the Barbarian Kings, made a dash at Andalusia, beat the Romans completely, laid every thing waste, and then held the ruined province. The Romans, however, found means to throw succours into Spain, and, for a length of time, that country was the scene of battles and skirmishes between them and the Goths, Vandals, Alans, Sueves,

and Silinges. In 614, Sigibert attempted to recover from the Imperialists, all that tract of country, on the Mediterranean, reaching from the Fretum Herculanium to Valencia ; which he succeeded in obtaining, after a contest of four years. The Romans severely felt the loss of their possessions in Spain ; it was a loss of power, a decay of national strength, and they made another effort, to turn the tide of affairs in that quarter. On the arrival of the Roman forces, they found Suintila, King of the Goths, already in the field, with a powerful and well equipped army ; against which, the Romans did not dare march. Finding the power of the Goths increase, the Romans surrendered on good conditions, without hazarding a battle ; and, for the first time, the Goths were entire masters of Spain.

From the contiguity of the two continents, the power of the Goths in Spain, extended also to Mauritania, over which, they long exercised an unlimited jurisdiction. This country, was regarded by the Arabs with great interest. The Moors, who had resided there, from the most early periods, had led a wandering, but peaceable life ; their spirit was broken by the variety of masters, which the chance of war had placed over them. The Greeks, Romans, Carthagenians, and Vandals, had each, by turns, exercised unlimited jurisdiction. In the reign of the Caliph Othman, in 647 the Arabs made a descent in Africa, and conquered Mauritania.— The junction, formed between the Moors and Arabs ; their common origin, similarity of habits, manners and religion ; tended to awaken in the mind of the Moors, a desire for independance, and of ridding their country of those barbarous Goths, who were daily committing the greatest excesses. This disposition, produced an activity in these allies, which led to very important results ; and in 708, Moussa, a celebrated and most successful general, arrived from Egypt ; and with 100,000 men, added to the Arab and Moorish forces, already in that country. He passed through Mauritania, drove the Goths from Tangier, and found himself a Conqueror, with immense resources at his disposal. Then, for the first time, was an eye of jealousy and desire, cast on the fine and fruitful provinces of Spain. The Moors, from their mountains, saw the Spanish vallies, their numerous cities, and rich commerce ; and, in a moment of enthusiasm, they formed the vast design of conquering that country. They carried their design with prompt-

ness into effect ; and in three years, all Spain was in their possession. Thus commenced the reign of the Caliphs ; but the causes which led to this revolution, were equally strange and interesting.

Roderic, known as the last king of the Goths, excluded from the throne the sons of Witiza, whose claim the people recognised, but the nobles opposed. His court was the most depraved and sensual of any, at that period, in Europe ; and every species of corruption, fraud, debauchery, and excess, were encouraged by him to that degree, that honour, worth, and social order, were unknown ; the kingdom was shaken to the centre with commotions, and fast verging to that condition, as to render it an easy prey, to the conquering arms of neighbouring powers. Roderic did not want talents ; he was shrewd, penetrating, brave, engaging, generous, and liberal ; but these were mere flashes of virtue, which his great vices obscured ; and, at length, he capped the climax of infamy, by offering violence to the daughter of Count Julian, who was at that period, an ambassador in Barbary. Historians differ, as to the cause of the Moorish invasion ; they all unite, however, in attributing it mainly to the conduct of the king, in relation to the daughter of Count Julian ; and many ingenious fables, and interesting dramas, owe their origin to this singular event. This young lady was named Cava, and was maid of honour to the Queen Egileno ; she was esteemed the most beautiful and accomplished woman, in Spain ; a model of virtue, and engaging manners. The King, pursuing his wretched system of vice and debauchery, first removed the father, the Conde Julian, by sending him on an embassy to Moussa, at Tangier ; and then, offered violence to the daughter. Deprived of her natural protector, the beautiful and injured Cava retired from court, to meditate on a revenge suitable to her wrongs. She contrived a variety of modes and allegorical devices, to inform her father of the violence offered to her ; and among them, she wrote to him, that “ there was a fair green apple upon the table, and the King’s poignard fell upon it, and cleaved it in two.” These “ ambiguous givings-out,” added to other circumstances, created a suspicion in the mind of the wretched father, who obtained his recal, and returned to Spain.— Acquainted with the extent of his misfortune, he smothered his resentment, until better prepared to act ; and representing to the king, that his expensive armaments in peace, were onerous to the

people, he induced him to lay up his galleys, and disband his troops. He then obtained permission, for himself and family, to visit Tarragona, and left Malaga for that purpose. Arrived at Tarragona, he collected his friends and relations, and with many followers, sailed for Africa. Roderic never suspected the anger or deep resentment which was buried in the bosom of Count Julian ; so carefully, and successfully, did he smother his feelings ; and dissemble his passions. Julian, arrived in Africa, and addressed himself immediately to the General Moussa ; he represented Spain as prepared to throw off the yoke, and receive the Moors. He stated that his party was powerful, and ready to join him ; he heaped every vile epithet on the head of Roderic, and satisfied Moussa, that his wrongs had been deep and powerful. He represented the riches of Spain, in dazzling colours ; its fertile provinces ; its splendid cities ; and awakened that spirit of cupidity, which strengthened the ambitious designs of the Moors, and preparation was made to invade Spain. It was in 713, that Moussa placed twelve thousand Moors, under the command of Tariff, or Taric Abenzarca, one of the greatest captains of the age, who landed and captured Gibraltar, and erected the castle, the ruins of which, I had lately visited. After leaving a small garrison, he passed round the Bay, and took Cartea, and laid the foundation of Algeciras ; as, previous to that period, no town or city was erected on the spot, where Algeciras now stands. Roderic, alarmed at this visit from the Moors, and ill prepared to resist them, still roused himself from his lethargy, and gathered the remnant of his forces, and had several skirmishes with Tariff ; at length the Moors, fighting desperately against superior numbers, who were awed and dispirited drove them to Xerez ; and, on the banks of the Guadalete, the fabled Lethe, Roderic made a last and desperate stand, and after sundry battles, for near eight days, he was finally conquered. The king, by some, was supposed to have fallen in this contest ; but, it has been satisfactorily shown, that he escaped to Portugal, where he died in obscurity. Tariff, marched with his triumphant forces, and possessed himself of Seville, and finally, of all Andalusia, and Estramadura.

The success, which attended this expedition, induced Moussa, a warrior no less distinguished, to form a junction with Tariff, with auxiliary troops ; and these two generals, with their army, separated, and shortly after, overrun and captured all Spain. To the

Christians, the Moors held out the hand of fellowship and protection ; they guaranteed to them, the free observance of their religion, and the possession of their chapels ; nay, so mild and beneficial was their rule, that the Queen of Roderic, openly espoused the son of Moussa ; thus uniting the Christian and Moslem interest.

Spain, divided in command between Moussa and Tariff, begat a strong jealousy on the part of the former ; as he had ever viewed Tariff in the light of a subordinate officer. The Caliph Valid, fearing the effect of this jealousy, recalled them both to Africa, where they died neglected.

The son of Moussa, who had espoused Egilona, the wife of king Roderic, and who was left in command of Spain, dying shortly after, Alahor, a warlike chief, succeeded him ; who scoured the country, and even crossed the Pyrenees into France.

A Rebellion broke out in the north, which was headed by Pelagus, a descendant of the Gothic Princes, and who was so successful in his predatory warfare, as to induce the Caliph Omar 2d, to send Elzemagh, a very distinguished officer, to take command in Spain. The Caliph, with a discernment worthy an enlightened prince, soon discovered, that Spain would never be tranquil, without efforts were made to soften the habits, and ameliorate the condition of the people ; and this he determined to effect, by the introduction of Arts and Sciences ; and which, laid the foundation of that glory, which was so conspicuous, during the government of the Moors in Spain. Cordova was erected into a capital, and embellished with splendid Palaces. Men of talents were invited to court, and Elzemagh himself, setting the example, wrote a Topographical History of Spain, with a detailed account of its resources, mines, minerals, forests, and rivers. The brave Pelagus, and his partizan followers, still held the Asturias, and could not be dislodged ; in fact, the Moors, disregarding his Rebellion, seemed desirous of conquering Gaul ; and Elzemagh was killed in one of the battles, near Narbonne.

Spain still changed her rulers, until the year 731, when Abderame, a Moorish chief of the highest acquirements, ambition, and bravery, took command in Spain. He formed an alliance with the French Duke of Aquitaine, who had quarrelled with his sovereign Charles Martel and married his daughter ; marched instantly

against Muniza, governor of Catalonia, whose forces he destroyed; and whose wife, a lady of exquisite beauty, he sent to the Caliph Backman. Urged by his ambitious views, Abderame was disposed to show, how firm his power was fixed in Spain; he crossed the Pyrenees; captured Bourdeaux; scoured the French Provinces; and came suddenly in sight of Charles Martel; who, with all the forces of France and Germany united, had pitched his camp at Tours. All Europe was interested in the result, and the Christian forces were to make one great, and probably last effort, for dominion. The battle was fought near Tours; 300,000 men were destroyed; and Abderame was killed, which secured the victory to the French. This was, in 733, and the defeat of the Moors, gave rise to a variety of factions in Spain; which, for many years, rendered their power uncertain and precarious. In Asia, the utmost confusion existed, between the rival tribes of the Omiades, the Abbassides, and the Barmacedes; which gave rise to innumerable revolutions, which even Haroun al Rachid could not subdue, and which, eventually destroyed all belonging to the tribe of the Omiades, except one, called Abderame. This adventurer, possessing talents of the highest order, concealed himself in the deserts of Arabia, and finally found means to get to Africa. The Moors in Spain, although governed by a chief, favourable to the tribe of the Abbassides, were still attached to the Omiades; and, on hearing of the arrival of Abderame, in Africa, they invited him to accept the crown. One strong link has consolidated the chain of Mahomedan power, and given so much strength and vigour to their operations, that is, the eligibility of any Musselman to the Crown. The successful chief wielded the sceptre, and this stimulated every adventurer to deeds of heroism. Abderame accepted the invitation; and, in 755, he landed in Spain, on the banks of the Guadalete, where he assembled an army. For four years, the Abbasides, under the command of Yusef, disputed the possession of Spain; at length, the arms of Abderame were crowned with success. He conquered Cordova, and every important city; tranquilized the commotions between the tribes; was crowned king of Spain, and the first Caliph of the Moors; thus cutting asunder, the ligament which bound the Arabs of Asia, and the Moors of Spain.

That fine country, for the first time, had a monarch worthy of reigning; he was the most brave, and accomplished man of his age; he

patronized the fine arts ; established, at Cordova, schools for the study of Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Poetry, Languages, Music, and Painting. He erected the superb Mosque, now used as a Cathedral, and a number of noble palaces and gardens ; he encouraged marriages between the Moors and Spaniards, and tolerated all religions. The Jews, in his time, erected an extensive University at Cordova, and possessed an equality of rights. That city was the seat of science, and the abode of distinguished men, happiness and content were seen in every face. The riches of Abderame have never been equalled. He governed Portugal, and all the fine provinces of Spain ; and historians assure us, that 12,000 villages were built on the borders of the Guadalquivir. He owned eighty important cities, and three hundred large towns. Cordova contained 200,000 houses, and 900 public baths. The revenue was calculated at the immense sum of twelve millions, forty-five thousand dinars of gold, near five hundred millions of dollars. Commerce, at that period, poured its riches in the lap of Spain. Oil, silk, sugar, cochineal, iron, wool, amber, ambergris, loadstone, antimony, sulphur, ginger, spices, coral, pearls, and the produce of the mines, found their way to Asia and Africa. Cordova was the focus of arts and science ; chemistry and astronomy, were at their acme ; every thing denoted splendour, peace, talents, and happiness. Spain, Spain ! if misfortunes brought on by ignorance and fanaticism, by indolence and tyranny, have not deadened your sensibilities ; “ if damned *custom* has not brazed it so, that it be proof and bulwark against sense,” the recollection of what you were a *thousand years ago*, in *barbarous* ages, must drive you mad ! the comparison must be agony ! arouse yourself ! shake off your indolence ! and give your prejudices to the winds ! Raze your inquisitions to the ground ; turn your monasteries, into seminaries of learning ; place your priests between the handles of a plough ; tolerate all religions ; call back the Moors and the Jews, who gave you character and wealth ; declare your provinces in South America, Sovereign and Independent ; and establish a profitable commerce with them, founded on equal and exact justice ; invite to your Court the learned of every clime ; let industry, science, and the arts be encouraged, let honour and good faith prevail ; and, you may yet obtain a distinguished rank among the governments of the earth !

Abderame died in 788, after a reign of thirty years, full of glory ; and the crown devolved on his third son, Hackem. Family disputes, and contested claims among numerous children, arising from the Moslem custom of Polygamy, kept Spain in eternal dissensions ; and Hackem died, full of trouble, in the year 822, and was succeeded by his son, Abderame the 2d. The Normans invaded Spain. Arragon, and Navarre, became separate kingdoms ; the Christians still continued to confederate against the Moors : but Abderame was always fortunate ; he was a Prince yet greater than his Grandfather ; and in his time, arts and sciences flourished triumphantly. Mousali, the great Moorish musician, lived during his reign, his execution on the lute has never been surpassed. Abderame died after a reign of thirty years, and left his crown to the eldest of his forty-five sons, Mahomet ; and, for the space of sixty years, Spain was a scene of troubles, of war and conquests, so that the dominion of the Caliphs was verging to a close ; when Abderame the 3d, in 912, mounted the throne. He was a warrior and a politician ; and, in a short time every thing flourished. He subdued his enemies ; restored peace to Spain ; lavished gifts, with profusion, on the seminaries of learning ; was the richest sovereign in Europe ; and, after a reign of fifty years, he died ; leaving a written paper, in which he stated, that with all his wealth, conquests, glory, and honour “ he had enjoyed but *fourteen happy days !*” The successor of Abderame the 3d, was his eldest son, Hackem. Without possessing the splendid talents of his father, he was a wise and politic Prince ; liberal, just, and humane. He established a code of laws, and continued to patronize the arts ; but it was not Hackem that reigned ; he was in infancy, when he ascended the throne ; it was his Prime Minister, the justly celebrated and illustrious Almanzor, the pride and glory of the Moslem race ; and who, for twenty-six years, reigned, under the nominal sway of Hackem. Never had the Christian Powers in Spain, an enemy to contend with so fierce, and inflexible, so commanding, and successful, as Almanzor. He fought fifty-two battles in Castile, the Asturias, and Leon ; and razed to the earth, the famous Chapel of St. James, of Compostella, a splendid monument of weakness ; but this fierce zeal against the Christians, this impolitic war against faith, laid the foundation of his ruin. The Spaniards were driven to desperation ; they assembled all their forces ; and, at Medina Cœli, in 998, they totally overcame the Moors, in a desperate battle ; and, the hitherto vic-

torious Almanzor, not being able to sustain the shock, died with grief, at the reverse of fortune, and with him perished the glory of the Caliphs. Hackem, in the midst of civil dissensions, was taken prisoner, by a relative of the Caliphs, but was rescued by forces from Africa, and re-instated on the throne. The important victory, achieved by the Spaniards at Medina Cœli, gave them new energies. Spain was distracted with commotions; the Moors were divided into small parties, headed by several Pretenders to the crown, and were cut up in detail. Hackem abdicated; and, in 1027, terminated the reign of the Omiades in Spain, after possessing that country with glory, for three hundred years. Then arose a long list of Usurpers; who, for two centuries, held that country in confusion and disorder. The Christians themselves, were divided by jealousy and suspicion; crimes were committed with impunity; and licentiousness reigned throughout the kingdoms. Anarchy and confusion would have destroyed both Christian and Moslem power, when at length, a bright star of glory arose in Spain—a Hero, which that country cannot too often boast of; this was *Cid*,—the illustrious and brave *Cid*, the flower of chivalry, the most amiable and estimable of men, whom history has immortalized, and romance represented, in brilliant and true colours. This Cavalier, was called *Rodrigo Diar de Bivar*; but was surnamed the *Cid*, or Chief; and he first commenced his operations by gathering and heading a species of Guerillas. He had fought in the Moorish ranks, when they were allied to Castile, of which Crown he was a subject. Banished by his sovereign, he forgot not his allegiance to his country; he fought against the Moors, and sent his prisoners to Alphonso, who had banished him. His mind rose superior to petty or grovelling animosities; he felt no anger against his enemies; cherished no sentiments of revenge against his oppressors. At length, his services produced his recal, and restoration to favour. His frankness and open manly conduct, joined to his love of truth, once more offended Alphonso, and *Cid* was once more banished. He marched with his troops forthwith, and took Valentia by storm; for banishment to him, was the signal for new acts of valour. He could have wrested the crown from the King of Castile, and held it without fear; but he was a patriot, and he died at an advanced age, crowned with glory. He left only one son; who, in a duel for a paltry cause, lost his life. His two daughters were wedded to the Princes of the House of Navarre. These were the ancestors of the Bour-

bon race, of Ferdinand the 7th, and Louis the 18th; and it is the brightest jewel in their crowns, that the Cid, the gallant Cid, who was not a Sovereign, and who had no ambition for a Sceptre, was their ancestor.

With the death of the Cid, once more rose the power of the Musulmen. The disputes of the various tribes in Africa, gave rise to the power of the Almoravides, originally from Egypt. Joseph, or as he was commonly called, Jusef ben Tessefin, of that race, reigned for a while in Barbary; he possessed himself of Mauritania, and founded the empire of Morocco; and, in a moment of tranquillity, like the Caliph Valid, he cast his eye towards Spain, which, at that period, was jointly in the power of Christians and Moors; and, in 1097, he crossed the Mediterranean, stormed Seville, captured Cordova, and threatened the annihilation of Christian power in that country. Religion, or holy zeal, that powerful link in the chain of confederacies, that potent charm, which, in that particular age, whetted the sabre, and aroused the energies of Christendom, came to their relief; and Alphonso of Castile, joined by the Duke of Burgundy, and other chiefs, drove Jusef back to Africa; and, shortly afterwards, the kingdom of Arragon was wrested from the Moors, by Alphonso, surnamed the Brave. The Arab power began to decline; they despaired of their cause; and a blow, the most severe that was ever given, was felt in the capture of Lisbon, and the emancipation of Portugal; which weighed down their power, almost beyond the hope of recovery. This was effected in 1144, by Alphonso, the first son of the Duke of Burgundy, who was proclaimed King.

After this period, the powers of Navarre and Castile, for the first time, in their conquering progress, encroached upon Andalusia; when the Moors, alarmed for the safety of the remnant of their possessions, took refuge under the banners of an adventurer, by the name of Tomrut, a man of depraved character, and impious zeal, and who, after a series of troubles, schemes, and battles, died at the age of fifty; and in the year 1149, the race of Almohades came into power. Cordova, at this period, had lost great part of that bright, literary, and scientific character, which it possessed, under the reign of Abderame, the 3d. The schools languished, and the arts could no longer flourish, amidst rebellion and carnage. Those schools, however, produced some distin-

guished men, particularly Abenzoar, the chemist and physician, and Averroes, the poet and civilian, both of whom, shed a lustre on the character of Mussulmen. The Almohades partially governed in Spain, and territory was disputed with them, inch by inch. Portugal, became the seat of war; Arragon and Castile, united with the King of Leon, defeated the Arabs, and killed Abou-Jakoub, at the siege of Santarem. It was then that the Mussulmen in Africa, saw the decay of their power in Spain, they remembered the glorious reign of the Caliphs, and dwelt, with enthusiasm, on the power, riches, and noble character they possessed; an effort must be made to retrieve their lost fortunes, and this must be a great effort; accordingly, Mahomet el Nazor, the son of Jakoub, went over to Africa, erected the standard of the Prophet, and proclaimed a Crusade; all ranks and ages flocked to it, preparations were made with vigour and spirit. Alphonso, king of Castile, saw these preparations with great uneasiness; he intreated assistance from all Europe. Innocent the 3d, a Pontiff of character, aided him greatly. Italy and Gaul sent many partizans to the Christian Chief; every thing was placed on the "hazard of a die." Mahomet, had already crossed the Straits, with *six hundred thousand soldiers*, a number almost incredible, but still admitted, by the concurrent testimony of historians. Peter the 2d, king of Arragon, and Sancho the 8th, king of Navarre, joined their forces to those commanded by Alphonso, king of Castile; the best troops that Spain and Portugal could produce, joined by sixty thousand French and Italians, were in the field. The Moors had the advantage in numbers, the Christians, in arms and discipline. They met near the Sierra Morena, at a place called Toloza. The Arab Chief, possessed himself, as he thought, of all the defiles and passes. A Spanish guide led the army through rocks and difficult passages, across the mountains, when the whole force appeared before the astonished Arabs. A battle was now unavoidable, and two days were spent by the allies, in prayers and confessions.

I have ever considered the battle of Toloza, the greatest that was ever fought in Spain; and one, in which they acquired more glory, than in any subsequent campaign. The Mussulmen from the heights, saw all the movements. In the display of their force, they exhibited the same defect of judgment, which, even at this day, has not deserted them; they had one hundred thousand cho-

sen men well armed, and the plain was covered with troops ; but no order, no concentration of force, no discipline or system.—Most of them were thinly clad, and armed with spears ; they were a host of ill-organized troops, left to fight their way in the Arab fashion, and overcome discipline by numbers. Mahomet occupied a height, from which he was seen by all his troops, which was barricadoed by a strong chain, and surrounded by a body guard. The Christians descended the valley in admirable order ; they were formed in three divisions ; Sancho commanding the right, Peter the left, and Alphonso the centre, headed by the Archbishop of Toledo, with the Grand Cross. This admirable Prelate set an unparalleled example of bravery ; he dashed into the midst of the Moorish ranks, and led Alphonso to attack the height where Mahomet was stationed. The battle became general, and raged with fury ; the plain was soon cleared of the Moors, and the forces were condensed, and brought against the height. Sancho broke through the Mussulmens' ranks and tore down the chain, by which Mahomet and his troops were surrounded ; the carnage grew horrible ; and, at length, the Arabs took to flight, in every direction. The Christians remained perfect masters of the field of battle, and the Archbishop of Toledo, celebrated the victory, by a *Te Deum*, on the plains. The consequences of this battle were of immense importance to the Spaniards, who represented, that the Mussulmen, in their flight retired with a loss of 200,000 men, whilst the Christians lost only 1500. This was a severe blow to the Moors ; and they never ceased to deplore the issue of this crusade. Mahomet retired to some small town in Spain, from which he was soon dislodged ; he passed over to Africa, and died neglected ; and, with him, perished the last of the race of Almohades. The African Princes, divided in their interests, at length separated, and established the Regencies and Governments of Algiers, Tunis, Fez, and Tripoli.

The Moors, still possessed many rich and fruitful provinces in Spain ; and the Christians gained strength and confidence from repeated successes. At length, two soldiers arose, whose bravery and talents paved the way for great victories. These were James the 1st, King of Arragon, and Ferdinand the 3d, King of Castile and Leon. The latter, after a series of victories, obtained possession of Majorca ; and after a long siege, Cordova, the glory of the Mussulmen, fell into his hands by capitulation, in 1236, after be-

ing in possession of the Moors, 520 years. The Spaniards had yet to learn, that mercy was a bright plume in the helmet of valour. They drove the unfortunate Mahometans from that city, which they left with streaming eyes, and broken hearts ; they despoiled them of their wealth ; razed their palaces, schools, and gardens ; and turned the magnificent Mosque of Abderame, into a Cathedral. The Moors had one consolation left—Valentia was still in their power ; they had re-captured that fine province, after the death of the Cid ; but this consolation was short-lived. James of Arragon, after a long siege, captured the principal towns ; and thus, Andalusia and Valentia, with the exception of Seville, fell into the hands of the Christians.

This was a fatal blow to the power of the Mussulmen, yet they had hope and courage, which their superstition kept alive ; and one effort was made, this was, the establishment of the kingdom, and building the city of Grenada. A Chieftain, named Mahomet Abousaid, from the borders of the Red Sea, endowed with courage and perseverance, collected all the scattered tribes, and established the capital of Grenada. This city, embellished with the most splendid palaces, and built on a plain, the most fruitful and rich that imagination can possibly conceive, was a rival of Cordova. This fertile plain for ages, was the seat of war ; the soil was covered with bones, and drenched with blood ; alternate successes, of Christian and Moorish arms, rendered it the theatre of bloody scenes, sieges, and conquests. Ferdinand concluded a treaty with the king of Grenada, and marched with his troops to invest Seville, which, after a siege of six months, and several gallant actions, capitulated in 1248. Nothing could equal the splendour of Grenada, in the first century of its erection ; and the Palace of the Alhambra, which still exists, to indicate its former magnificence, has never been equalled for riches of decoration, and beauty of architecture.

From 1248, to 1349, the Mussulmen power in Spain, was supported by occasional successes, and victories. The reverses which their arms sustained, they repaired by constant activity and perseverance ; they were still superior, in talents and policy, to the Spaniards, and more mild, tolerant and humane. At length, the famous siege of Algeciras, took place, in 1343. The Moors had defended the place, which was open to the sea ; and they received succours from Africa. As far as my eye could reach, from the

summit of an eminence, where I was seated, the soldiers of Alphonso the eleventh, King of Castile, were placed. His camp was pitched on the surrounding hills, and his cordon of troops was strong and effective. It was in the numerous sallies, made by Moors and Christians, that thousands were killed on both sides, whose bones were now bleaching in my sight. The Moors, within the walls, ever active and enterprising, invented and used cannon; which, for the first time, as conceded by several historians; were used at this siege. Notwithstanding the advantages, resulting from these wonderful engines, Algeciras was taken in 1344; and Joseph, King of Grenada, was murdered by his own subjects. Mahomet the sixth, an old warrior, succeeded Joseph; and the Moorish crown was, for a length of time, disputed between him and the Farydan, until the latter, desirous of ending this civil strife, voluntarily entered the camp of Peter, King of Castile, justly surnamed the Cruel, and submitted his rights to arbitration. Peter received him with honours, feasted him at his table, and afterwards conducted him to an open plain; where his followers were put to the sword, and Peter himself, struck the old Moorish king to the ground, with a lance, who only said, in tones bitter and piercing, "Oh! Peter!! Peter!!! what an exploit for a Soldier!!!"

It was the crimes, the unheard of cruelties, which stained the conduct of the Spanish kings in Spain, that kept alive the power of the Mussulmen. They were incapable of enjoying temperately, the fruits of victory; they had no mercy for a fallen foe, no policy towards a gallant and unfortunate people. In addition to Peter of Castile, the Nero of the age, others equally ferocious arose—Peter the fourth, of Arragon, Peter the first, of Portugal, and Charles, the Wicked, of Navarre. It was the oppressive sway of these sovereigns, that kept the Moors together in harmony and concert. Grenada continued to be the Garden of Spain; Arts and Science were still encouraged; Belles Lettres and History flourished; that delicate and romantic gallantry, which has rendered the History of the Moors, so deeply interesting to the world, still existed in all its vigour; the Alhambra, and the splendid gardens of the Generalif, were the abode of the learned and the brave, the gay and the accomplished. The ferocity of the Moors, yielded to a suavity of disposition, and softness of character, which education tempered, and science fixed. Their women were beautiful, modest,

and engaging, "their principal charms," said a Moorish Historian, arose from "their graceful and genteel deportment; their conversation was lively and keen; their genius refined and penetrating." From 1362, until 1492, the Moors governed Grenada, under Mahomet the 6th, Jusef the 2d, Mahomet the 9th, Joseph the 3d, and Ismael the 2d. At length, the kingdom became convulsed by internal discord, arising from the clashing jurisdictions of Mulec, Hassan, Bobadel, and Zagau, when Ferdinand and Isabella laid siege to Grenada. This city had been fortified with the utmost care; it was walled and strongly flanked by a thousand towers, and contained two hundred thousand men. The Spaniards, were commanded by the most gallant officers, that ever Spain produced, particularly by the renowned Gonsalvo of Cordova. Isabella encouraged the troops, by her presence, and partook of all the fatigues of a camp. At length Grenada capitulated; and on the 2d of January, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella made their triumphal entry into Grenada, and terminated the Moorish power in Spain, which had existed 782 years. The unfortunate Mussulmen, oppressed by the Spaniards, separated; some went to Africa, others to Asia; but all regretting, with bitter reflections, the fine country they had lost, the happy hours they had spent.

The causes of the decline and fall of the Moorish power in Spain, are easily accounted for; always active and unsettled, they covered, in their character, the germs of sedition and rebellion; and the facility, with which any adventurer could obtain the crown, gave an impulse to this unstable character, and rendered them ever ready for novelty and change. Without laws, except transitory forms of custom; extravagant in their expenditures; fond of gaiety and pleasure; they weakened their power by yielding to its blandishments. Their armies were numerous and brave, but less disciplined than the Christians; and their religious zeal, gave a ferocious character to their warlike operations. They had, however, virtues of the highest order; no nation on earth, even unto this day, took such delight in the exercise of charity, as the Moors.— They distributed to the poor, bread, money, and part of their agricultural and commercial products; built hospitals for the sick, and carefully protected and nourished the stranger.

Had the Mussulmen in Spain, established a government of laws, divested themselves of a portion of their Religious zeal, disciplined

their troops, and economised their expenditures, the Mahomedan Religion, at this day, would have spread itself over all Europe, as it now does over Asia. Whatever benefits, other parts of Europe have experienced, from mild and beneficial governments, it is certain, that the reign of the Moors in Spain, was more glorious, prosperous, and enlightened, than the present dynasty, that now wields the sceptre.

I arose from my seat, and slowly retraced my steps towards Algeciras ; pondering on the mutations of life, and that variety and change, that "flesh is heir to." The sun was gradually sinking behind the Mons Abyla, in Africa, and its last rays, shed a melancholy gloom on the surrounding objects. Opposite the bay, rising in majestic height, and frowning with age, stood the *Calpe* of antiquity. No blooming orange groves, or fruitful gardens, embellished the Rock of Gibraltar, as in the reign of the Caliph Valid. The ruins of Car-tea lay at the bottom of the beach ; Algeciras, now one fourth the size and splendour of former times, was on the right ; the Convent bell was chiming the *Oraciones* ; and the lazy peasant, following his mule, laden with charcoal and brush-wood, was retiring to his home, after a day of unprofitable listlessness. Every thing around me gave tokens of decaying power ; of a retrograde of national strength, and national character ; the fields looked green ; nature had remained true to her general course—Man only had changed.

Passing through a narrow street, I observed four Spaniards, seated round a low table, in front of their door, eating snails, boiled in vinegar ; out of an earthen dish. Some they extracted with pins, others by suction ; it was altogether a disgusting sight. I stopped to contemplate the scene, and they invited me politely to participate in the feast, which I as politely declined. They drank common red wine from a glass machine, not unlike a chemist's retort, or a tin lamp feeder, which they held at arm's length, and a stream, not thicker than a quill, ran into their mouths. This is common among the peasantry in Spain ; and it requires some dexterity and practice, to render its use familiar. The Spanish women, in Algeciras, wear no hats, or covering to their heads, excepting the mantilla.

Finding it necessary to return to Cadiz, I ordered horses and a guide ; which were at the door of the Posada, at an early hour the next morning, and I was joined by Mr. Charles Moore, of Phila-

delphia, who was also journeying towards that city. The baggage was secured on the back of a mule, with ropes, and the guide suspended his gun from the pommel of the saddle. The Spanish saddle has a high back, and a projection in front, which, in case of falling forward, is extremely dangerous ; the stirrup is short and wide, covering the entire sole of the foot ; the whole trappings of the horse, are strictly Moorish.

We left Algeciras, towards the north, and pursued our way over a plain, for near an hour, when we began to ascend the mountains ; the road was rugged, and obstructed by thick brush and under-wood ; a number of wild hogs, started across our path ; and we arrived by several circuitous paths, and windings, at the summit, when we stopped to enjoy the prospect. Nothing could be more beautiful ; below lay an extensive plain, unobstructed by a single tree, and several villages sprinkled over it ; rivers and creeks pursuing their winding courses towards the sea ; in front, at a considerable distance, rose the spires of Algeciras ; and beyond them, across the bay, the Rock of Gibraltar, its summit capped with clouds ; the shipping diminished to little barks ; the mountain, with the village of St. Roque, and beyond the whole, the silver surface of the Mediterranean sea, united to render the view, strikingly beautiful and diversified. We began to descend on the opposite side, and the path became more rugged and difficult ; masses of rocks, projecting from precipices of frightful height, rendered it necessary to observe great caution in our progress. The Phœnicians, Romans, Carthaginians, Moors, and Spaniards, for four thousand years, had crossed these mountains with their troops, and never improved the roads. Our horses were not surefooted ; passing over a steep part of a smooth and slippery rock, I fell off mine and bruised my back severely, the rest of the descent I passed on foot, until we arrived at the valley. We stopped at noon, to refresh our horses, at a wretched *Venta*, kept by a poor peasant, and to dine on the provisions, with which we had supplied ourselves at Algeciras. The plains of Tariffa lay before us, covered with fine meadow grass ; cattle were grazing on this plain, and were guarded by a few armed keepers, who, with a blanket thrown over their shoulders, were collecting them together. This plain extended as far as the eye could reach, and has been long celebrated for its meadows, and the only good cattle raised in Andalusia. Towards evening, we reached

the Posada, where we contemplated to stay for the night. It was a low stone building, having a court-yard filled with cattle and mules, and was situated in a valley filled with picturesque scenery ; on the summit of a high and almost inaccessible mountain, the Roman town of *Vejer* or *Veher*, as it is called, was built. Our host gave us a narrow apartment paved with brick, where we spread our mattresses for the night. Overpowered with the fatigue of riding over rocks, and walking down precipices, we seated ourselves by the door, and enjoyed the tranquillity of a mild and pleasant evening. The sun had just set. We had an earthen bason of fresh milk and brown bread placed before us, on which we made a hearty and refreshing meal. Several *Arreroes* or carriers, came winding down the mountains, with their mules laden with charcoal, which they unloaded before the door, and put up their animals for the night. I could not avoid remarking the industry, and labour of these poor peasants, who were all day employed, in collecting this charcoal, the proceeds of which, were scarcely sufficient to purchase them bread. They are unquestionably the best part of the Spanish population, the most industrious and least offensive. Pursuing a train of thoughts, which led to the reflection, how many of the nobility in Spain were inferior to this hardy race, and were also ignorant of their privations and sufferings. I remembered the glee of the peasants in Morton's Play of the Mountaineers, and commenced singing the Stanzas aloud :

“ Ye high-born Spanish Noblemen,
 Ye Dons and Cavaliers,
 Ah ! little do you think upon,
 The lowly Muleteers’,
 To earn an honest livelihood
 What toils what cares we know,
 Small our gain, great our pain,
 O’er the hills and o’er the plain,
 Parch’d with heat, drench’d with rain,
 Still the Muleteer must go.

The *arreroes* hearing the voice came to the door to listen. *Le Signor Inglese il canta*, “ the English gentlemen sings,” said they, “ listen.” I continued the ballad, and changed it to the glee, beginning :—

“ Let us push the wine about,
 “ Till the last, last drop is out,
 “ Then each Spanish Man go,
 “ Will dance the Fandango,
 “ When jigging with Lasses, how sweet the time passes.

Hearing an air so national and familiar as the Fandango from a stranger, they rushed out with their whips in their hands, and commenced dancing with much delight, snapping their fingers, to imitate the rattling of castanets, and cutting the most uncouth capers, their faces blackened with charcoal, and their legs covered with leather gaiters. The scene was truly ludicrous and diverting; the whole *posada* with its tenants, the mules, dogs, and hogs, sallied out in front of the door, and joined the noisy ambling throng.

The next morning we departed at break of day. In a short time the country grew horribly bare, no verdure or vegetation was to be seen; we ascended one or two hills, which opened, and gave us an occasional view of the Atlantic. No passengers or labourers crossed us in our path, and this dreary scene lasted, until we approached Chicklana, upwards of twenty miles from the Venta where we had slept. This is a neat town, tolerably large, and seated on a plain, surrounded by pleasant gardens, the streets wide and commodious, the houses generally of one story, white washed, and having low grated windows, and the most comfortable I had yet seen in Spain. To our right, at a distance of several miles, arose the mountains of Medina Sidonia, nearly on the summit of which, lay the town of that name, a place where the air is said to be so pure, as to induce invalids of certain character to emigrate from South America. A good hospital is erected there, and well endowed. The temple of Hercules, it is said, once occupied that spot.

We pursued our journey towards the Isla de Leon, which was two leagues further. This is a much larger town than Chicklana, and contains near 25,000 inhabitants; the streets are the widest I had yet seen, and the town wore the appearance of comfort, if not opulence. We were now in sight of Cadiz, its bay and shipping, and desirous of being at once relieved from the fatigue of this slow and monotonous mode of travelling, we discharged our guide, and his horses, and took a Felucca, which in an hour landed us at Cadiz.

This was the first essay I had made in travelling through Spain, and I found the comforts and conveniences, far inferior to those of any country, I had ever seen, though equally, if not more costly. Calculating that Mr. Keene would terminate his mission to Algiers without delay, and, in the event of success, knowing that Cadiz,

would be the only port, from which a passage could be procured to America for the captives, I determined to await his return, and during the period, to profit by the occasion, to see the surrounding country. The next day I passed over to *Porta Santa Maria*, to visit *Xerez*, or as we pronounce it, Sherry, a place to which America is indebted for large importations of excellent wine. The boat was crowded with passengers, chiefly peasants returning from market, together with a few friars, the never-failing companions of voyages, and journeys in this quarter—a few *quartos* were exacted from us, as usual, for *las animas Benditas*, and our fare was five rials. We struck on an ugly bar near the port, from which we were extricated with difficulty.

Peurto de Santa Maria, is situated in a fine country, surrounded by cultivation, and is a flourishing town, principally used as a summer residence, and has several handsome buildings, together with a spacious *Alamada*, and a *Plaza del Toro* capable of holding 10,000 spectators. I strayed on the banks of the *Guadalette*, which here empties itself in the bay of *Cadiz*; its silver surface was unruffled, except by the boats which glided down the gentle current; I viewed it with interest, it was the fabled *Lethe*, and I could not but taste the waters of forgetfulness. I looked in vain for that

“Dull weed that grows on *Lethe’s* wharf.”

A *Calasa*, the horses of which were decorated with ribands and bells, conveyed me to *Xerez*. The country looked beautiful; I was surrounded by vineyards and olive trees, and here and there fields of corn, waving in rich luxuriance. We approached the plain, and saw *Xerez*; here, on this spot, was fought the battle, wherein *Roderic*, the last king of the *Goths*, was defeated. I arose to walk over the battle ground; it recalled to my recollection, the deeds of heroism which, for eight days, were evinced in that remarkable contest. With all the vices of *Roderic*, his gallantry and noble spirit, could not fail to obtain the admiration of his enemies; on this spot, like *Hannibal* on the field of *Zama*, he collected all his forces, to make the last desperate stand for power and existence. He commanded that day 100,000 men, and exposed himself, from a rich chariot, to the view of both armies. The archbishop *Oppas*, traitor like, went over to the *Moors* with a large body of *Spaniards*, and *Roderic* mounted his horse, dashed in the midst of the battle, and performed prodigies of valour. The *Moors* were successful; and after the battle, the

horse and princely accoutrements of Roderic, being found near the Guadalete, gave rise to a belief that he was killed. It is certain, however, that he escaped into Portugal, where he died in obscurity, in a small village called *Visceo*. The following inscription, found on a marble slab in that town, not only gives a strong colouring to the belief, that Roderic died there, but, by its bitterness, seems to warrant the supposition, that he himself wrote it :—

“ Here lies Roderic, the last king of the Goths ; cursed be the impious fury of Julian, because pertinacious ; and his indignation because extravagant. He was mad with fury, fierce with rage, forgot his allegiance, was unmindful of religion, a contemner of divinity, cruel against himself, a murderer of his Lord, an enemy of his own domestics, a destroyer of his own country, guilty in reference to all ; let his memory wax bitter in every man’s mouth, and may his name rot for ever.”

Julian, the father of Cava, it will be recollected, was the cause of the invasion of Spain by the Moors, and consequently of the destruction of Roderic.

We entered the town of Xerez, which is built on a gentle ascent, commanding a fine view of the valley. A neat *Alamada*, beneath the walls of an old tower and lined with trees, occupied a space to the left ; the streets, spacious and clean, the houses high, and painted outside in lively colours and various figures, gave tokens of opulence and comfort. A number of very handsome Cathedrals, and Churches are built in this town, and I was particularly struck with a very magnificent pile, built of a species of grey stone, the architecture and interior decorations were light and splendid.

A number of narrow streets and low houses in a part of the town, seemed to indicate its Moorish origin. A gate near the *Posada*, where I lodged, bore an inscription in Arabic, and a Moor with naked feet and slippers, sat under it, composedly smoking a pipe, and selling dates, oranges, shawls, and essences.

How strong the attachments of the Moors must be, to those towns in Spain, which have witnessed the triumph of their arms ; the sensations of an intelligent Moor, on visiting Cordova, may be easily imagined. It was a day of some favourite saint, whose name I have not the honour of recollecting. I found an immense number

of ladies and women, well dressed, on their knees in the different streets, their hands clasped in prayer, from which their *Agnus Dei* was suspended. I called on Mr. Gordon, a very intelligent and respectable wine merchant, many years a resident of Xerez, and whose house supplies the United States principally, with wine.— This article is neither manufactured nor exported, in the quantities it was in former times. The visit of the French to this town, consumed nearly all the crops, which, subsequently, were in part neglected. The wine vaults of Mr. Gordon are very spacious, and lined with large butts, which are seldom emptied, as the stock is replenished, by mixing a part of the new vintage with the old. I could not fail observing a species of superstition, which carries religion a little too far. The vaults were arranged like the aisles of a church, and each was named after a favourite Saint, and contained a different quantity of wine, thus, those of St. Peter and St. Paul, being very distinguished in the clerical calendar, contained the old Sherry, *Xerez Seco*, and the wine decreased in quantity, as the Saints were in consequence. This is giving a fine convivial character to the Saints, which probably they deserved. St. Paul, after his shipwreck at Melita, (Malta) was refreshed by a goblet of wine, probably of Cyprus, or of Scios. We left Xerez in the afternoon, in order to reach Cadiz before night, having learnt that robbers were abroad, as a fellow-citizen of ours, Mr. Storrow of Boston, had been stopped by a band near Seville, who borrowed all he had about him, politely returning him sufficient to bear his expenses to Cadiz.

Passing through a narrow street at Cadiz after dark, Mr. Hackley introduced me to an Academy of Fine Arts, or rather to a Drawing Academy, where we saw some good Paintings. The rooms were spacious, one of them was formed like an amphitheatre, with a pedestal to draw from life. Neat mahogany desks, at which students were employed drawing, were arranged around the rooms; order, neatness, and tranquillity prevailed. I was much pleased to see, that a taste for the arts was not wholly destroyed. There were some good paintings in Cadiz, in the Churches particularly; a fine head by Murillo, owned by one of the Convents, the French not having possessed the city, ancient specimens of the arts, and private collections, remained undisturbed.

Cock-fighting was a fashionable amusement at Cadiz, a pit in fine order having been erected of wood, towards the north end of the

city. The pit is opened on Sunday, and I found several Americans, who resided south of the Potomac, among the visitors ; but I was much surprised, to find a number of Priests and Friars attending the amusement, if it can be so called, and particularly, on that day. They appeared to take great interest in the sport, betted on the cocks, which had been plucked and trained for the express purpose of fighting. Ideas of religion, and its peculiar obligations differ materially, in different parts of the world, we should consider a Minister of the Gospel, as forfeiting all claim to a sacred character, if he was attached to cock-fighting, and appropriated Sunday, to this pursuit exclusively. It is, however, certain, that these Friars and Priests, who swarm in every department in Spain, are the principal cause of that decay of moral and national character, of that want of energy and education, which constitute the safety, and, sometimes, the glory of a nation. They inhabit convents and monasteries, generally well endowed, they live on the fat of the land, and those who are not residents of a convent, where the festive board groans under the weight of wine and viands, contrive to become inmates of some family, who live well ; one of these gentlemen is to be found in most families, which he governs with authority, and makes as much mischief, between man and wife, friends and relatives, as his interest seems to require.

Mr. Keene had now been absent to Algiers upwards of four months, during which time, I had received no tidings of him, and I began to fear, that his mission had failed, or what was yet more unpleasant, that the Dey had discovered, that he was a native American, and had either put him to death as a spy, or made him a slave. At length I was relieved, by receiving a letter from him, dated at Algeciras, detailing the rise, progress, and termination of his attempt, to ransom the American captives. This letter, which explains his movements, will not be read without interest, as presenting the difficulties, with which he had been compelled to contend, and I herewith subjoin it.

“ ALGECIRAS, MAY 22, 1814.

“ SIR—Having just arrived here from Algiers, for which place I took my departure from Gibraltar, nearly four months ago, for the purpose of purchasing the release of the American captives there, I hasten to communicate to you the occurrences relative to that negotiation.

“ You are already aware, that before my departure for Cadiz, I obtained, not only from the late Regency their instructions to the Spanish consul in Algiers, to use his best endeavours to effect the purpose for which I went, but also from the English ambassador, sir Henry Wellesley, a letter to Hugh Mac Donald, esquire, consul of his Britannic Majesty, recommendatory of his co-operation with me, for the attainment of the same end.

“ After a boisterous passage of upwards of twenty days, I arrived at Algiers on the last of February. About an hour before daylight, whilst at least a league from our anchorage, a government barge from along side of us, demanded an account of the vessel, passengers, &c. I was the only passenger, and was reported as the bearer of dispatches from the Spanish Regency, to their consul. After sending a note of the same purport, to that consul, Don Pedro Ortiz de Zugarte, he, without delay, sent a messenger to conduct me to his house. Immediately upon our interview, he informed me, that the Dey had already demanded of him the *precise and specific objects of my visit to Algiers*; and from the unexampled rigor, violence, and despotism of that chief, the consul assured me that there must be no hesitation in complying with his order. We accordingly agreed upon informing him, that the American merchants in Cadiz, desirous of having their captive countrymen, in his possession, rescued from slavery, and despairing of the interposition of their government in their behalf, in as much as the terrors of Algerine captivity served to enforce their anti-commercial policy, had raised a fund to purchase the liberty of said captives: and in order to take the best possible chance of success, by treating him with the respect of having the negotiation proposed to him through a governmental organ, rather than the organ of mere individuals, the Regency had, through benevolence and humanity, consented to allow the said negotiation to be conducted in their name. The minister, to whom this communication was made, promised to give us an answer the following morning. Finding Don Pedro disposed to give me every assistance in his power, and learning that the Dey's cabinet councils were held in the evening, I desired the consul to employ the intermediate hours in addressing himself to the cupidity of the chief minister, and such others as might possess any influence in the palace, in order to incline the Dey favourably to my purpose. At this time I expressly abstained from making any precise or spe-

cific offer, contenting myself merely, with soliciting that a negotiation might be opened, and saying that my offers, as well to the ministers, as to the Dey, should be liberal and handsome ; and indeed that both prices and presents should be at least equal, if not superior, to such as any similar negotiation has ever before produced. I was induced to be thus particular, in getting the preliminary point of negotiation agreed to, from the serious apprehension in the outset, expressed to me by Don Pedro, not only that the Dey would not sell the said captives, but also that he would not even entertain with me any question on the subject of their release, or any other person, except a commissioner of the American government ; and then in connection with a treaty of peace. I also immediately wrote to the English consul, enclosing him sir Henry Wellesley's letter, a statement of the foregoing particulars, and solicited his interference and co-operation in preparing the minister and other proper officers for the expected council in the evening. Not more than half an hour had elapsed, before Mr. Mac Donald called upon me ; and upon receiving a repetition in conversation, with the necessary amplifications of the contents of my note, he gave me the most ready and hearty assurance, that, with zeal and promptitude, he would serve me to the utmost of his power. Although, confessing, at the same time, from the well known policy of the Dey towards the United States, in endeavouring to strengthen himself as much as possible ; in extorting from them his own terms, in an adjustment of the existing hostilities, that he should consider it something like a miracle, were he to sell me the twelve captives even for the sum of *two hundred thousand dollars*.

“ From the high opinion with which I had been impressed, in respect, not only of the general character of the Swedish Consul John Norderling, esquire, but also on account of his particular services, as marked with the utmost benevolence and generosity towards the American captives, I should, even without your letters and those of Mr. Hackley to him, by me, have at once called upon him, and entreated his co-operating aid, had I not *instantaneously discovered, that I had to choose my agents, either of the Spanish and English consuls united, or Mr. Norderling alone ; the union of all being utterly impracticable ;* and over and above this impracticable union, I was at once apprised, that the Swedish consul, on account of the threatened hostilities of the Dey against his country, was

scarce able to maintain his ground in that place. Mr. Norderling himself afterwards corroborated this statement as to the threatened hostilities. Notwithstanding then, my great respect for Mr. Norderling's character, both on account of his talents and his virtues, I felt myself constrained, though with regret and sorrow, to waive, at least for the present, the solicitation of his agency in my behalf. My own personal safety, as well as the only hope of success in my negotiation, depended upon my standing well with the Spanish and English consuls. I repeat, that it was impossible for me to maintain a friendly understanding with them, and at the same time to introduce Mr. Norderling into the negotiation ; and to avoid exciting any suspicion of attempting so to introduce him, I felt myself compelled to abstain from calling upon him, or presenting any letters to him, until the appointed answer of the minister should be given. At the promised time, the answer of the Dey was delivered to the Spanish consul and myself, and consisted in this, to wit : " Tell the consul, and the agent of his government, and of the American merchants in Cadiz, that my policy and my views are to increase, not to diminish the number of my American slaves ; and that not for a million of dollars would I release them." Finding that Mr. Mac Donald and Don Pedro, were utterly discouraged by this answer from persisting any further, I then considered myself at full liberty to call upon Mr. Norderling ; and accordingly did so, acquainting him with what I had done, and making the best apology that so delicate a subject would admit of, for not having called upon him sooner. That truly good man, possessing a heart ever animated by the warmest benevolence, and a liberal and enlightened mind, not only forbore to take offence at that which a too jealous pride, unaccompanied with proper powers of discrimination, and a correct sense of dignity, might have construed into an unpardonable slight ; but, moreover, offered his best services in endeavouring to change the determination of the Dey. I, of course, not only through gratitude for his generous and liberal conduct, treated his offers with the greatest delicacy and respect ; but also, through my ardent desire to succeed, which prompted me to embrace every expedient that might conduce to that result, even by the remotest possibility, pressed him to exhaust every resource in the experiment. The best means that could be devised, were put in practice by him ; but all to no purpose. The answer of the Dey to this renewed attempt was, "*that not for two millions of dollars would he sell his American slaves.*"

as may evince the great and astonishing facility with which such an important service to America, and indeed to the civilized world, may be achieved.

“ The great importance attached to the strength and resources of the Algerines, and the impregnable character assigned to their capitol, seem to have been conjectured through a bare superficial review of the immense and formidable expeditions that have at different periods been fitted out against that capitol, from Spain, and their disastrous terminations ; without a thorough examination of the special circumstances, by whose agency and influence those calamitous results were produced.

“ The Emperor, Charles the 5th, after vanquishing in Tunis, as the viceroy of that place, the King of Algiers, (Hyradin Barbarossa) was afterwards, on invading Algiers, compelled to abandon his enterprise, and to fly, with the remains of his late victorious and numerous forces, before the lieutenant of that king, at the head of a miserable band of barbarians, not amounting to more than a tenth part of the force, over which the invaders had just before triumphed. But, although on this occasion, the most powerful monarch, and accomplished and consummate warrior of Christendom, at the head of an immense army of veterans, is seen to have been completely discomfited and foiled ; yet not to the strength or resources of Algiers, was that defeat attributable ; but to one of those calamities of nature, which no human foresight could discern ; and against which, no human efforts could be of any avail. An overwhelming tempest, and not the Enoch Hassan, with his five thousand Moors, and eight hundred Turks, broke into fragments the troops of the invading foe !

“ In 1775, Charles the 3d, fitted out an immense expedition for the reduction of Algiers. No less than fifty-one ships of war, six of which were of the line, all completely equipped, and twenty-six thousand men, exclusive of marines and sailors, constituted the formidable force for the completion of this undertaking. But so miserably conducted was this enterprise, both in respect of the *place* and *manner* of attack, that to ascribe the consequent disasters, exclusively, to ignorance and stupidity, would be to depreciate and treat with too little respect, the virtues of loyalty and fidelity, by protecting from merited censure and animadversion, the corres-

pendent vices of treachery and corruption. Instead of attacking *Achilles in the heel*, the assailing force was thrown away upon his *shield*! The Spanish generalissimo, instead of attacking vigorously the works upon the mole, the vital part of his enemy, employed his efforts on some of the out-batteries only, in a distant direction, three or four miles from the town—from the only true point on which a sensible, much more a mortal, impression was to be made; and not only did he fail thus, as to the *place*, but his *manner* of attack was equally unmilitary and ineffectual; because—

“ 1st. The most protracted delay took place, as to the disembarkation of the troops; whereby the enemy were allowed abundant time for assembling their forces.

“ 2d. The lengthened eminence parallel to the beach, was not attempted to be gained in a single point by the invaders, but left wholly and quietly to the occupancy of the Algerines.

“ 3d. The first division, consisting of grenadiers and light infantry, *without a single piece of artillery to protect and support them*, advanced upon the enemy strongly and advantageously posted; and thereby caused themselves to be thrown into confusion, and to be forced back into a precipitate retreat, just time enough to meet, in their disordered state, the second division consisting of the artillery, in the moment of their disembarkation; so that the first division, communicating to the second the panic with which it was seized itself, the whole were involved in tumult and overthrow.

“ Thus disastrously and ingloriously terminated this pompous and formidable expedition; whilst an inconsiderable portion of the force of which it was composed, if judiciously and prudently managed, would have been amply adequate to the attainment of the object for which it was set on foot.

“ Towards the close of the same reign, in 1783, another expedition was sent out against Algiers, which, though not disastrous, in like manner as the others, was yet unproductive of any substantial injury to the invaded. A distant intermittent bombardment, of the duration of a few days only, *gold* more than *iron*, having been employed in it, during which some buildings were injured, constituted the sum and measure of the last exertion of the powers of the cross against the crescent.

“ By her *marine* only, is Algiers a formidable or injurious power. Into whatsoever colossal strength or size her military resources might be presumed to swell, a distant commercial nation, like the United States, accessible and vulnerable only upon the seas, could never in the least be effected by the same ; and however iniquitous and diabolical soever might be their maxims of policy ; yet if destitute of a marine, those maxims could never be reduced into practice, at least as to America ; and existing only in the *abstract*, they would be perfectly harmless and inoffensive. Her *marine* then, is the *sting*, through which Algiers has infused her poison into America ; a poison that is still burrowing itself into the American flesh, and mingling its corrosive lymph, with the marrow of the American bone ! Let Americans then, take warning, and learn *wisdom*, from the errors and follies of those who have gone before them against Barbary, and to their naval skill and prowess, the drawing of this sting would be a task as easy and certain to them in its performance, *as the consequences of its consummation would be glorious and advantageous to them.*

“ The *true point*, and *only true point*, of attack on Algiers, is the *mole*. The works upon the mole, it is true, exhibit a tremendous aspect, upon a superficial view. The fortifications admit of the mounting of upwards of five hundred cannon, though that number is not always actually mounted ; and would seem to hurl a proud defiance, even in the very teeth of the collected squadrons of Great Britain. This menacing monster, however, is, in reality, a mere mock gorgon ; but if, indeed, a real one, still the lofty and intrepid souls of a Rogers, a Decatur, a Hull, a Bainbridge, a Jones, a Porter, and their heroic comrades, animated by a love of glory, and of their country's rights, would not only disdain to shrink back from it ; but, on the contrary, would proudly rush upon it, whensoever a competent prospect of success would justify the assault. This assault every prospect of success would justify. In the first place, the Algerines have not a single artillerist or engineer, who deserves to be called such, among them. Their cannon are all of brass, which, as soon as heated, are known to rebound with great violence ; the carriages, weak and imperfect in the extreme, in their original constructions, are, as respects a vast proportion of them, decayed and ruined ; so that, after a short discharge, the guns would, of themselves, become dismounted. The embrasures are so constructed as not to admit of scarce the least

possible variation, in the horizontal direction of the pieces, while the carriages are totally unfixed for either elevation or depression. The rammers, sponges, and matches, are of a piece with the carriages. There are no furnaces for heating shot. Throughout some of the curtains of the fortifications, there are three tiers of guns, and never less than two : but, after the first round or two, the lower tiers would, if fired at all, have to be fired at random, on account of the obscurity* that would be produced from the smoke, in the close and confined cells within which those tiers are ranged. Thus much for the numerous inherent causes of embarrassment and ineffectiveness in the works of the enemy, and the enemy themselves. Let us now superadd to them the dismaying and overwhelming embarrassments proceeding from the assailants.

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as may evince the great and astonishing facility with which such an important service to America, and indeed to the civilized world, may be achieved.

“ The great importance attached to the strength and resources of the Algerines, and the impregnable character assigned to their capitol, seem to have been conjectured through a bare superficial review of the immense and formidable expeditions that have at different periods been fitted out against that capitol, from Spain, and their disastrous terminations ; without a thorough examination of the special circumstances, by whose agency and influence those calamitous results were produced.

“ The Emperor, Charles the 5th, after vanquishing in Tunis, as the viceroy of that place, the King of Algiers, (Hyradin Barbarossa) was afterwards, on invading Algiers, compelled to abandon his enterprise, and to fly, with the remains of his late victorious and numerous forces, before the lieutenant of that king, at the head of a miserable band of barbarians, not amounting to more than a tenth part of the force, over which the invaders had just before triumphed. But, although on this occasion, the most powerful monarch, and accomplished and consummate warrior of Christendom, at the head of an immense army of veterans, is seen to have been completely discomfited and foiled ; yet not to the strength or resources of Algiers, was that defeat attributable ; but to one of those calamities of nature, which no human foresight could discern ; and against which, no human efforts could be of any avail. An overwhelming tempest, and not the Enoch Hassan, with his five thousand Moors, and eight hundred Turks, broke into fragments the troops of the invading foe !

“ In 1775, Charles the 3d, fitted out an immense expedition for the reduction of Algiers. No less than fifty-one ships of war, six of which were of the line, all completely equipped, and twenty-six thousand men, exclusive of marines and sailors, constituted the formidable force for the completion of this undertaking. But so miserably conducted was this enterprise, both in respect of the *place* and *manner* of attack, that to ascribe the consequent disasters, exclusively, to ignorance and stupidity, would be to depreciate and treat with too little respect, the virtues of loyalty and fidelity, by protecting from merited censure and animadversion, the corres-

pendent vices of treachery and corruption. Instead of attacking *Achilles in the heel*, the assailing force was thrown away upon his *shield*! The Spanish generalissimo, instead of attacking vigorously the works upon the mole, the vital part of his enemy, employed his efforts on some of the out-batteries only, in a distant direction, three or four miles from the town—from the only true point on which a sensible, much more a mortal, impression was to be made; and not only did he fail thus, as to the *place*, but his *manner* of attack was equally unmilitary and ineffectual; because—

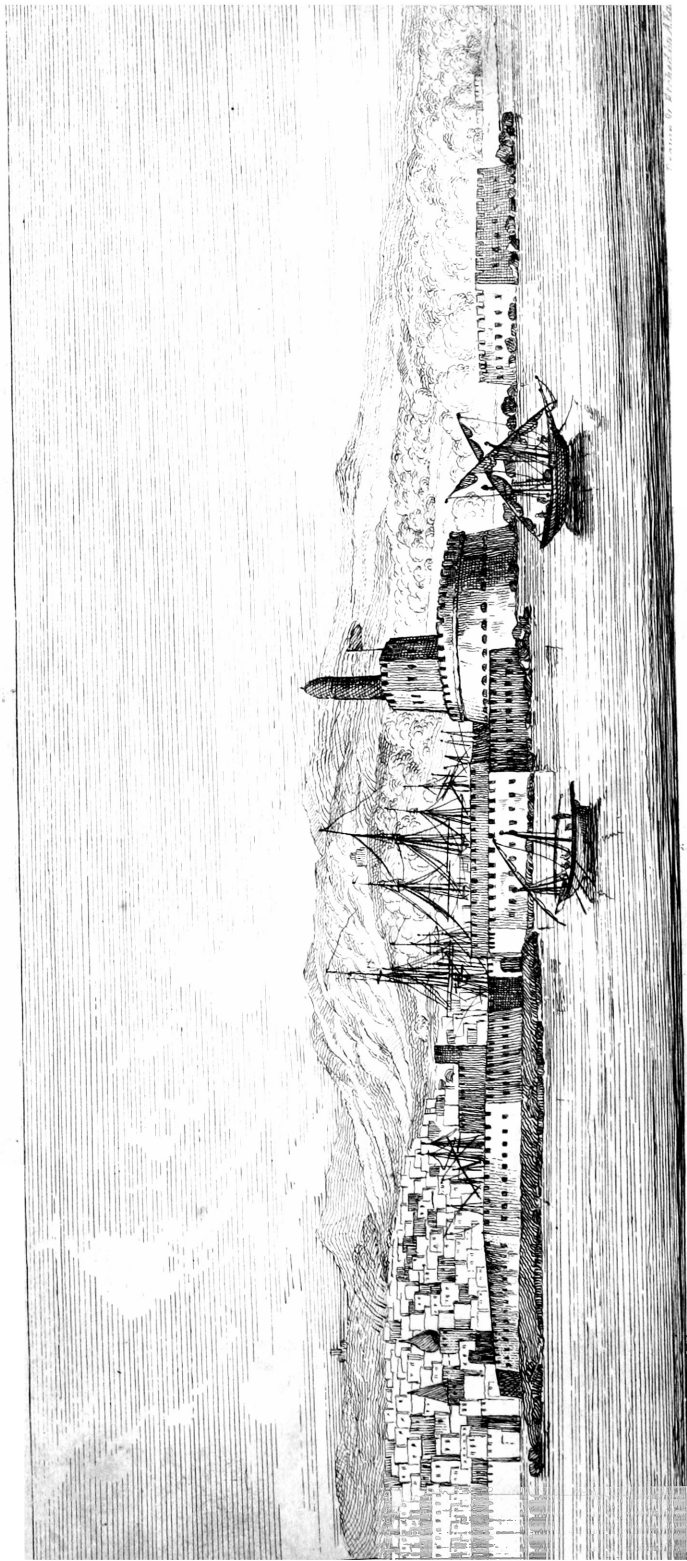
“ 1st. The most protracted delay took place, as to the disembarkation of the troops; whereby the enemy were allowed abundant time for assembling their forces.

“ 2d. The lengthened eminence parallel to the beach, was not attempted to be gained in a single point by the invaders, but left wholly and quietly to the occupancy of the Algerines.

“ 3d. The first division, consisting of grenadiers and light infantry, *without a single piece of artillery to protect and support them*, advanced upon the enemy strongly and advantageously posted; and thereby caused themselves to be thrown into confusion, and to be forced back into a precipitate retreat, just time enough to meet, in their disordered state, the second division consisting of the artillery, in the moment of their disembarkation; so that the first division, communicating to the second the panic with which it was seized itself, the whole were involved in tumult and overthrow.

“ Thus disastrously and ingloriously terminated this pompous and formidable expedition; whilst an inconsiderable portion of the force of which it was composed, if judiciously and prudently managed, would have been amply adequate to the attainment of the object for which it was set on foot.

“ Towards the close of the same reign, in 1783, another expedition was sent out against Algiers, which, though not disastrous, in like manner as the others, was yet unproductive of any substantial injury to the invaded. A distant intermittent bombardment, of the duration of a few days only, *gold* more than *iron*, having been employed in it, during which some buildings were injured, constituted the sum and measure of the last exertion of the powers of the cross against the crescent.



ALGIERES.

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“ By her *marine* only, is Algiers a formidable or injurious power. Into whatsoever colossal strength or size her military resources might be presumed to swell, a distant commercial nation, like the United States, accessible and vulnerable only upon the seas, could never in the least be effected by the same ; and however iniquitous and diabolical soever might be their maxims of policy ; yet if destitute of a marine, those maxims could never be reduced into practice, at least as to America ; and existing only in the *abstract*, they would be perfectly harmless and inoffensive. Her *marine* then, is the *sting*, through which Algiers has infused her poison into America ; a poison that is still burrowing itself into the American flesh, and mingling its corrosive lymph, with the marrow of the American bone ! Let Americans then, take warning, and learn *wisdom*, from the errors and follies of those who have gone before them against Barbary, and to their naval skill and prowess, the drawing of this sting would be a task as easy and certain to them in its performance, *as the consequences of its consummation would be glorious and advantageous to them.*

“ The *true point*, and *only true point*, of attack on Algiers, is the *mole*. The works upon the mole, it is true, exhibit a tremendous aspect, upon a superficial view. The fortifications admit of the mounting of upwards of five hundred cannon, though that number is not always actually mounted ; and would seem to hurl a proud defiance, even in the very teeth of the collected squadrons of Great Britain. This menacing monster, however, is, in reality, a mere mock gorgon ; but if, indeed, a real one, still the lofty and intrepid souls of a Rogers, a Decatur, a Hull, a Bainbridge, a Jones, a Porter, and their heroic comrades, animated by a love of glory, and of their country's rights, would not only disdain to shrink back from it ; but, on the contrary, would proudly rush upon it, whensoever a competent prospect of success would justify the assault. This assault every prospect of success would justify. In the first place, the Algerines have not a single artillerist or engineer, who deserves to be called such, among them. Their cannon are all of brass, which, as soon as heated, are known to rebound with great violence ; the carriages, weak and imperfect in the extreme, in their original constructions, are, as respects a vast proportion of them, decayed and ruined ; so that, after a short discharge, the guns would, of themselves, become dismounted. The embrasures are so constructed as not to admit of scarce the least

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Mr. Keene had paid \$6000, these two sums, together with an exorbitant premium paid at Algiers, with the charter of a vessel to convey them to Spain, with provisions, cloathing, travelling expenses, &c. swelled the account to \$15,852. Had a charge been made for the six seamen, agreeable to my instructions, they would have amounted to \$18,000. The sums had already been drawn for on my agent, and I received the men, provided for their comfortable return home, paid their passage to the United States, and drew bills on government at a loss of 18 per cent for all the disbursements, amounting to upwards of \$18,000. I am thus particular in detailing the events of this negotiation, in consequence of the impressions, very generally circulated, that I went beyond orders, or that no part of my instructions authorized the mission. It will be seen by a reference to those instructions, and the result, that they have been adhered to virtually and substantially.

An impression had also been made upon the people of the United States by Col. Lear, that the Algerine war had been produced through the agency of the British. This was generally credited; and, in addition to other acts of aggression, a disposition to involve us in war with a barbarous nation, and be instrumental in making slaves of our seamen, was supposed to be indicative of a deep and deadly hostility. I have reason, however, to believe, that the British had no agency in that war, and as I was amongst the most loud, in decrying that barbarous policy, I deem it my duty, to give the reasons, why I believe that the British government did not urge the war. At that period, we were supplying Spain and Portugal with flour and bread stuffs, and the declaration of war by the Algerines, closed at once the doors of the Mediterranean to our vessels. It was the interest of the British, to prevent the war, and after hostilities had been declared against the British, there was no motive in calling in the aid of the Algerines.

The following extract, from Lord Bathurst to Mr. Mac Donnel, the British Consul, will serve to throw some light on the subject. This document was given to Mr. Keene, to satisfy him, that the British government did not approve the conduct of the Algerines:

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 25, 1813.

“With regard to the conduct which the Dey of Algiers has held towards the American minister, it does not appear necessary for

the British minister to be informed of it ; but it would not be desirable that any language or conduct on the part of the British minister, should be construed to countenance such unwarrantable proceedings towards a foreign minister, duly accredited at the court, although the nation which he represents, is in actual hostility with his Majesty.

(Signed)

BATHURST.

Having terminated this affair, which occupied more of my time, than I had contemplated, I took leave of my worthy friend Mr. Hackley, whose services and hospitable attention, I shall ever gratefully remember.

I had little to regret in leaving Cadiz ; an attachment in time might be formed to the city, and to the mode of living, but the prejudices of the people, their zeal and bigotry in religious affairs, the want of spirit and enterprise, the absence of literary institutions, seminaries of learning, and works of science and the arts, cannot fail to render a long residence, exceedingly irksome to the inquiring mind.

I took my departure for Algeciras, and pursued the same road through the Isle de Leon and Chicklana, over which I had but lately travelled. I found on my arrival, two American gentlemen, Mr. S. C. Blodget, of Providence, and I. S. Smith, of New-York; who were also on their way to France, and we agreed to travel in company ; an arrangement which not only promised pleasure, but safety. We bargained for our passage, in a Spanish Felucca, which was bound up the Mediterranean, as far as Las Agilas for a cargo of barley.—Towards evening, we descried from Algeciras, a man of war brig, laying off Europa Point, and on a close examination, we made her out to be an Algerine. I then instantly gave up my intentions of proceeding by water, fully satisfied that she had an intimation of my voyage, and was determined to take me out of the Spanish vessel, as my contemplated departure was well known in Gibraltar, and an intercourse was kept up from the garrison, with the Algerines, through some of the Moorish residents. I ordered horses to proceed to Malaga by land, but Messrs. Smith and Blodget, having their baggage on board, determined to risk themselves at sea, and coast along the shore of the Mediterranean.

The next morning, a guide with three horses appeared early at the Posada, on one of which, my baggage was secured with ropes,

and a gun, a constant appendage to all travelling in Spain, was, as usual, suspended from the pommel of the saddle. We passed out of the town to the east, and shortly arrived at considerable ruins ; these were the ancient Cartea, but were so confused, that no particular character, could be attached to any of them. We crossed a river in a flat, and reached St. Roque to breakfast. This small town is situated on the summit of a mountain of gentle ascent, and commands a fine view of the surrounding country, the inhabitants are poor, and the visit of the French, made them yet poorer. I entered a large church, where the funeral obsequies of an old woman were performing ; she lay in a shell, her hands were elevated and clasped together, and a large bunch of artificial flowers were compressed between her stiff and clammy fingers ; the Priest sprinkled her profusely with Holy-water, and the carriers bore her through the streets on their shoulders, with her pale and withered hands, and the bunch of flowers between them, exposed to public view. I followed to the cemetery, and they deposited her in a species of vault, built like an oven, and capable of holding only one body ; the mouth of the tomb was then closed, and masons prepared to brick it up. The road from St. Roque, wound round several hills, and the country appeared barren and uncultivated ; we crossed several streams, and finally reached the beach, and pursued our way over the pebbly path ; a low strong castle lay before us uninhabited, a depot for prisoners. Watch-towers were placed on eminences, at a league's distance from each other, these lined the whole coast of Spain. We stopped at Estapona for the night ; a small mean town. Our landlady ushered us into a room, with grated windows ; she had nothing but fresh milk, and brown bread to give us, which was served up in an earthen dish ; hunger gave me an appetite, and I spread my mattress which I travelled with, on the brick floor, and rested soundly for the night ; at dawn I arose, my window looked into a small square, a few old people were stirring, and the bell chimed for first mass ; every thing looked venerable and decaying. I saw no young persons. This town was built by the Romans, and several battles were fought between this and Marabella, the next town. We pursued our way, and passed through several small villages . at noon the sun became powerful, and we stopped at a Posada, on the borders of the Mediterranean. The baggage was taken from the horses, and the guide, after refreshing himself, lay down to take his *Siesta* ; I had retired to sleep, when in a short time, I was awa-

kened by a noise and quarrelling below, and on inquiry I found my guide, wrestling with a stout man with pistols in his girdle, who had seized his gun ; he was an officer of the customs, and having devised a stratagem to induce the guide to confess, that the gun belonged to him and not to me, he had seized it in the name of the king, for being four inches shorter in the barrel, than the law required. This I saw, was a mere pretext, to get possession of the *Copeta*, as the officer called it, and I remonstrated with him on the injustice of the act ; finding him deaf to all my representations, I finally assured him, that if I were robbed on my way to Malaga, he should sustain the damage, and after many high words, he returned the gun, and we pursued our way. We were near Malaga and the culture improved ; fine vineyards in full bloom, lay on our left, the road became narrow, and circuitous, with dangerous precipices ; country houses and farms, were spread around us, the road then widened, and we had a distant view of Malaga, laying at the foot of a high and rugged mountain. We reached Malaga about five o'clock ; the streets were spacious, and we passed through a noble Alamada, and alighted at a large and comfortable hotel, the best I had yet seen in Spain. I was soon joined by Messrs. Smith and Blodget, who had arrived before me, bringing with them Mr. Kirkpatrick our consul, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making at Algeciras. He insisted upon my lodging at his house, and during my stay I was indebted to him, for many acts of hospitality and kindness.

Malaga, the Malacca of the ancients, is a small city, with narrow and crooked streets ; the houses are high, and appear like prisons ; an excellent mole has been completed, and the roads, though not in every respect sheltered from the winds, still afford safe anchorage for shipping. The commerce is extensive, particularly with the United States ; the wines are of a pleasant quality, and in a fruitful season, the market is abundantly supplied, with the finest grapes. There is not much red wine manufactured, *vino tinto*, the mountains around the city, principally yielding, a fine rich white grape, which is permitted to be exceedingly ripe, before they are gathered for compression.

The commerce of Malaga, has greatly decreased within twenty years ; the high duties, and impolitic restrictions of government, continue to check enterprise. The only building of great note,

is a Cathedral, extremely spacious, and splendidly embellished.— This was commenced in 1528, and for upwards of two centuries, it remained unfinished; it is three hundred and sixty feet in length, and one hundred and eighty in breadth; figures of the apostles and saints, are finely carved, gilt, and painted, and arranged in niches, according to their order. A Cardinal is buried here, and his red hat, covered with dust and cobwebs, is triumphantly suspended over his tomb, as a relic of the “church militant.” There are several convents in Malaga, well endowed, and like all other monastic establishments in Spain, they live luxuriously, though famine may cling to the city; they are the most comfortable establishments in that bigotted country, and hardly one out of twenty, give themselves up to the service of the poor. I saw the gate, where the beautiful Cava passed through, when about joining her father, the Conde Julian, prior to the invasion of Spain by the Moors. On the mountains, overlooking the town, are the remains of a Moorish wall and towers; Malaga was strongly fortified by them, and they considered it as the key of Grenada.

The ladies in Malaga, walk in the evening as usual, on the Alameda, a fountain, with little images of Italian sculpture, affords a cool and refreshing appearance. After dark, I saw a lady smoking a papillito, or paper segar, which she threw away, on some one approaching, and I suspect, that secretly, they are attached to an occasional puff. Their dress, habits, and amusements, are the same as in Cadiz; the guitar, their never failing instrument, being an appendage of every house. The daughters of Mr. Kirkpatrick, had just returned from France, where they had been educated, and his mansion was the seat of hospitality and amusement. I could have remained with much pleasure, several days in Malaga, but my pursuits would not admit of delay. My companions had already sailed, for *las Agilas*, and I engaged a passage in a felucca for Alicant, the patron or master of which, assured me, that he was in greater terror of Algerines, than I could possibly be, and that on their first appearance, he would run his little bark on shore. I went on board with my servant Thomas, an honest fellow, belonging to Charleston, whom I had engaged at Algeciras. Our little felucca, had but one sail, shaped like the wing of a sea gull; the captain swept the hold, in which my baggage was placed and bed was made. We coasted pleasantly along shore, and came in sight of Velez Malaga, a neat town,

situated in a valley, surrounded by cultivation. A little boy belonging to the felucca, prepared supper for the captain and crew; he cut up cucumbers, tomates, onions, garlic, green peppers, bread, and sardinias, and mixed the whole together in an earthen dish, with cold water and vinegar. I observed him attentively, while stirring up this strange compound with a wooden spoon. *Gaspache* seignor, said the patroon, *fresco, fresco*, and politely invited me to participate in the meal; the crew seated themselves on deck, and placed the dish in the centre, and between each spoonful, they had something smart or clever to say, producing bursts of laughter, and hilarity prevailed over this meagre fare, which was washed down, with common red wine, drank out of tin mugs. Night set in, and the breeze freshened; the air was pure and balsamic, and our little bark, cut smoothly through the rippling sea; the patroon informed me, that they were going to prayers, and made an apology for this customary act of devotion. This well meant politeness, was wholly unnecessary, I would have joined them, but I knew not the hymn they were chaunting. The boy began *Santa dios*, in a low tone, the crew joining in at intervals, raising their voices, and by degrees, forming together, a “concord of sweet sounds.”—These unaffected acts of devotion, produce agreeable sensations, when coming from poor seamen, whose “home is on the mountain wave.” The superstition of Spaniards and Italians, who coast along the shores of the Mediterranean, is proverbial; had our little bark a cabin, an image of the Panagea, or St. Jeronimo, would have ornamented the best part of it, and a light piously burnt before it, to procure a favourable breeze, and an exemption from calamity. On the morning of the third day, Cape de Gatt was in view; the wind proved contrary, and blew heavy, we could not weather the Cape, after many attempts, and our captain bore up for Almeria, which lay finely situated, at the bottom of a deep bay.—We ran our bark upon the beach, and landed; several persons, who, by their long cloaks and air of indolence, we took for officers of the customs, and health, (*sanidad*), ordered us to stop at some distance from them, and lay down our bill of health; which, after having read, they permitted us to enter the town. A Greek ship in quarantine, lay in the roads; part of her cargo of wheat, was landed on an eminence, and placed in a tent, where the captain sat watching it. I looked at this descendant of Solon and Themistocles; he wore a red scull cap, fringed at the top with blue silk, large mustachoes,

and his dark visage, was contracted into a heavy frown, indicative of pride, scorn, and ignorance ; he cast his eyes around him with sovereign contempt, his seamen lay on the sand at his feet, enjoying the sea breeze. These Greeks, have few, if any of the fine traits of their illustrious ancestors ; they are mostly pirates, and if they make a bad voyage, they board and pillage vessels of all denominations, on their return to the Archipelago, and frequently, destroy both vessel and crew for fear of detection. I passed through an ancient gate into the town, and put up at a *fonda*, where I had a room assigned me without furniture.

Almeria is strictly Moorish, both in its fortifications, and houses ; one of the Caliphs died here ; and it has been the seat of innumerable wars. It now contains about 600 houses, the inhabitants are poor, and live principally, by making *espatos* or grass rope, a species of manufacture, at which the women assist, using their toes in the operation. There are several chapels near the town, and one Cathedral, which is splendidly embellished, with many alabaster and marble statues, and some good paintings ; it would seem that the wealth of the place, had been lavished on the ornaments of this Church. Almeria is surrounded with a fine plain, three or four miles in extent, which, in the time of the Moors, was highly cultivated, and thickly planted, with groves of orange, olive, and pomegranate ; even now, it presented a pleasing aspect, of fields of grape, surrounded by hedges of the prickly pear.

I learnt that Messrs. Smith and Blodget, had arrived the day before, and left the town for Alicant. Our Consul, who was a good honest pains-taking Scotch Spaniard, by the name of Don Thomaso Gorman, was on a visit to a neighbouring town ; but his brother, who was a merchant, and wore a fierce cocked hat, accompanied me to the *British* Consul's, Don Phillippe Antonio Perez ; and it was fortunate for these two great nations, that they were cleverly represented, in this great city, of the Abencerrages. Don Phillippe was at dinner, and invited me to partake of his olio ; his wife was deranged, which he attributed, with what truth I could not say, to a severe beating, which the French gave her when in possession of the town, for endeavouring to release some English prisoners ; beating women, is not a remarkable trait in a Frenchman's character. The visit of this great people, was very unwelcome to the

inhabitants of Almeria ; they levied contributions with the most rigid and inflexible politeness ; and drained all the wine vaults in the place. They repaired the walls, and built a new one, which a British frigate in the roads beat down the next day. I passed through the narrow streets, and by the low white houses with flat roofs.—The town retains wholly its Moorish character. Straying on the beach, a Priest approached me ; I had some suspicions of his pious object, but he did not keep me long in suspense, crossing me with an expressive look, he asked, “ *Gusto austed una muher bonito.*” I was shocked at his villainy, and pretended ignorance of his meaning, he shrugged up his shoulders significantly, and left me, observing as he went, “ *Los Ingleses seimpre boricoes.*” How shockingly Religion is abused in this country.

I returned to my Posada, and could obtain nothing for dinner ; my servant bought some eggs, and with tomates, made an omelet.—The mode of cooking in Spain is very expeditious. A small portable kitchen, made of clay, and called a *naffy*, about 12 inches in height, and less in width, hollow in the centre, is filled with charcoal, and the earthen dish is placed on the top, and the materials are soon dressed. In the Posada, a strolling company of Comedians had taken up their quarters ; they occupied a long corridor, and were engaged in various pursuits. Some of the ladies dressed quite *en negligé*, with bare feet, were seated on the brick floor, spangling some bits of yellow gauze, and faded ribbons ; others, with rapid strides were pacing the long hall, with their part in hand, committing the scenes to memory, accompanied with the most strange and uncouth gesticulations ; here, a young man was singing a ballad, and thrumming the air on a guitar ; there a couple were practising a *bolero*, with castanets ; the whole company, indicating as much poverty, content, and good humour, as could be readily imagined from their pursuits.

As night set in, and a cool evening had succeeded an oppressively hot day, I passed out of the gate to bathe ; the moon had just risen in all its glory, the beach was crowded with people, and I soon disencumbered myself of cloathing and plunged in. While wading over the pebbly bottom, a Spanish centinel eyeing me closely, called out, “ *Hombre per dios Santo.*” Several persons rushed down, and I was politely gallanted out of the water, by these soldiers in ragged regimentals ; and rusty muskets, and was informed

that the large party bathing, were *women*, whom these soldiers had been guarding, and I unobserved, had slipped in amongst them ; and we were splashing about the water, like naiads and river Gods, without discovering each other's sex. The women were soon informed of the accident, as I judged from their screams and peals of laughter ; they seemed to enjoy the mistake, much better than I did, when dragged out of the water by these Spanish Caveleros, and escorted to the place, where I had deposited my clothes, and so to my Posada.

The next morning at an early hour, we took our departure from Almeria, without much regret. The wind was light from the south east, and we beat round Cape de Gatt. This Cape, is celebrated for its height, and is formed by rocky mountains, which rise one above the other, in perpendicular ascent from the shore : the cape is composed of several head-lands, which break into small bays, each surmounted by forts untenanted. This is a kind of rendezvous for Barbary cruisers ; who stretch over from Algiers to this spot, and conceal themselves, by the rocky promontories, near the shore, which is bold, and affords good anchorage. These piratical vessels, are generally looked for at Cape de Gatt ; there lie concealed, their small xebeques, like tygers, ready to spring on their prey. We examined carefully, each nook and crevice, and sailed within a few yards of the shore. We passed by San Pedro, near enough to discover, that it was a small town, surrounded by high hills and mountains, having the appearance of extreme poverty, fields uncultivated, and the soil arid and full of rocks and stones. We kept on our course, and with a pleasant breeze, passed by several small towns and fishing places in the course of the day. These towns, have no regular trade, but subsist from smuggling, which is a pursuit, particularly in tobacco, so open and general, as to defy the power of the laws, or the force of authority ; and yet, such is the attachment in Spain, to those laws, that they are permitted to become a dead letter, but cannot be repealed, or the system modified, so as to produce corresponding benefits to the government. The attachment of the Spaniards to custom and usage, is derived from the Moors ; it occasioned their destruction, and bids fair, to produce the same effect on their successors. If a small duty was laid on tobacco, so as to render it unnecessary to smuggle ; if a like policy was pursued in relation to commerce in

general, Spain, which is finely situated for commercial purposes, would shortly flourish ; but their policy is fixed, and like their laws, is not made to yield and be altered to the state of times.

We came to, at Carthage, merely for the purpose of spending an hour at this famous arsenal and town, originally built in the time of Hannibal. The entrance to the harbour is narrow and secure, and is defended by two citadels built on high hills, and commanding the town ; a fine mole in excellent order, on which near sixty cannon are mounted, forms an extensive basin for men of war. Carthage is built on the declivity of a hill, and is surrounded by high and rugged mountains. It has ever been an extensive naval depot, and the store-houses, work-shops, and other buildings necessary for an arsenal and dock-yard, are numerous and valuable. A good naval academy and observatory, facing the port, and built in the most simple and chaste style of architecture, contributes eminently to the embellishment of the place ; the streets are rather wider than in other cities, and very filthy, and the inhabitants, from the epidemic, which almost annually prevails, together with the decay of the naval power of Spain, have been reduced from 60,000, to about 35,000, and are all poor ; the soldiers are ragged and receive no pay, and the city has an air of desolation and decay.— We left it shortly, and coasted until we reached Cape Palos, near which, lay the small town of Palos, celebrated, as it is said, for being the port from which Columbus had first sailed, on his voyage of discoveries in the Western world. This is an interesting place to Americans. We passed by several small Capes, in the course of the day, the country varying, from rugged and sterile soil, to occasional patches of cultivation, and the promontories and rocks, forming pleasant and picturesque scenery. We anchored, in the afternoon of the succeeding day, at a small fishing town, about 20 miles from Alicant. Here our voyage ended, and the patroon demanded and obtained from me, a larger sum, than we had agreed upon, which I paid, in preference to having disputes in a place, where justice, I was aware could not be obtained.

Desirous of reaching Alicant without delay, I hired, what was called a berlin, a piece of private antiquity, in the shape of a low and heavy coach, the pannels of carved work and filligree, which had once been gilt ; it was lined with red damask, and had doubtless

been the property of a nobleman "tumbled into decay," a type of other times. Two good looking mules, were harnessed with old fashioned housings to the carriage, and a muleteer, with leather gaiters, pretty well advanced in years, was our conductor. The whole establishment, had the appearance of being contemporaneous with the times of Charles the 5th, or Philip the 3d. We set off at full gallop, which is ever the Spanish custom of entering or leaving town; the intermediate space of time being very leisurely filled, we shortly entered a valley in the highest state of cultivation. As far as the eye could reach, it rested on vineyards, white-washed cottages, small clusters of houses, and steeples of village churches. The road was excellent, ditches were formed at each side, to draw off the water, and cuts and channels were discernible, around each vineyard or cultivated patch, to admit the stream, and irrigate the meadows. I had seen nothing in Spain as yet, equal to this refreshing sight. We passed through several small villages; the inhabitants were all employed at their domestic concerns, or affairs of husbandry; carts, drawn by mules and oxen, were unloading quantities of large black grape for pressing, and comfort, content, and plenty seemed to prevail in this rich valley. We soon left it, and reached a moor, barren and uncultivated; night came on, and the muleteer lost his road, he had been often to Alicant, but some-how, he said, he had missed the path. We struck out of the main road, to reach a cottage at some distance, where a light dimly burned. We found it to be a miserable hovel, in which a labourer, with his wife and children, without chairs or furniture, were seated on an earthen floor, around a dirty frying-pan, seeking the remains of a previous meal. They gave us no satisfaction; they hardly knew how far it was to Alicant, and I determined to remain there during the night. The mules were taken from the carriage, and the provisions I had brought with me, consisting of bread, cheese, wine, and fruits, were carried to the hovel. The little naked children came round me, and participated with much satisfaction of my meal; my mattress was spread on some clean straw, in an apartment usually appropriated to the cattle, and I slept soundly; my man Thomas, taking his nap with equal comfort in the coach. Towards morning, we resumed our journey; the moon shone bright, and we met several parties going to market, with fruits and provisions; day dawned, and the scene became more lively, we were in the neighbourhood of a commercial city, and country seats, with pleasant hamlets,

and fields of grape, surrounded us on every side. At length Alicant opened to our view ; its spires, walls, its port and shipping, were plainly visible. The sentry at the gate, demanded our passport ; and we entered the narrow streets, passed through a bustling community, and stopped at the Hotel La Cruz de Malta. In a short time I was joined by my friends Blodget and Smith, who had just arrived in a schooner from Carthagen. We had set out for the purpose of travelling together, and had only met in important places, we agreed not to separate until we arrived in France, and then sallied forth to visit the city.

Alicant, situated in the kingdom of Valencia, was one of the early ports of commerce built by the Romans. In the various revolutions and transitions of power, it passed into the hands of the Moors, and in 1264, was taken by the Spaniards. It is situated at the bottom of a short bay, protected by the two capes, La Huerta and San Pablo ; a new mole runs out at some distance, and the anchorage and roads, though not the most secure, are nevertheless, considered safe. The city is walled, and during the late revolution, it is mentioned with pride, that Alicant was amongst the few cities which the French did not occupy. It is well defended at all points, but particularly by a very strong and curious castle, situated on a height almost inaccessible, and commanding the city in every direction. There is some difficulty in tracing the origin of this fortress ; it is not Roman, for it was originally built for the use of cannon, and therefore I am of opinion, that it was constructed by the Spaniards, before Alicant was settled, as old Alicant, occupied the valley of La Huerta, near the present city. The passes to the citadel are extremely narrow and difficult, ledges of broken rocks, and masses projecting and jutting from the mountain in every direction, render it, if properly garrisoned, impregnable. It was, however, taken by the English in 1706, and the French and Spaniards besieged it two years ; they finally excavated the mountain under the citadel, and placed in the mine upwards of 1300 barrels of gunpowder, then willing to save the effusion of blood, and with a gallantry, worthy of a civilized people, they sent a flag to the English General, inviting him to dispatch his own engineers, to examine and report the situation of the mine, and the result likely to be produced from the explosion. The English Engineers, whether ignorant of the effects, or fool-hardy, reported to the General that

nothing was to be feared. The sappers and miners continued at work, a day was fixed for springing the mine, and the inhabitants of the surrounding country, awaited the explosion at a respectable distance. The English Governor determined at the last moment to surrender ; Townsend relates, that they were at dinner, but being determined to drink two bottles more, having already offered ample libations to the jolly god, they dispatched their servant for them, but the mine was sprung, and the English General, whose name was Matthews, and twenty officers, mounted in the air. The residue of the garrison capitulated on honourable terms. The English are not as " pot valiant " at the present day, and without forgetting the allurements of Bacchus, they are not insensible to the call of Mars. The French and Spaniards, who are remarkable for their temperance, relate with some gaiety, several romances relative to this siege ; particularly, the extraordinary figures of the English officers in the air, with the wine-glasses in their firm grasp.

We paid a visit to our Consul, Robert Montgomery, esquire ; one of the oldest officers in the service, having been commissioned at the commencement of our Independence. He resided at a country seat, on the borders of the Mediterranean, about two leagues from Alicant. We passed out of the eastern gate, and had a full view of the surrounding country ; the mountains are rugged and uncultivated, the soil sandy and arid. We shortly entered the valley of *La Huerta*, one of the most rich and fruitful in Spain. This beautiful valley which can never be too much admired, and which strongly recalls to the recollection of the traveller, the rich plains of Grenada as described in the time of the Moors, is about twelve miles in length, and is watered from a distance of fifteen miles, which is produced from an artificial lake or reservoir, walled around, and perfected in all its operations at a vast expense by the Government, which derives a revenue from it. In this valley upwards of 20,000 inhabitants reside, and the most industrious in all Spain ; every species of fruit seemed cultivated ; the vine was bent to the earth, with the large black grape ; orange and almond trees in full bloom, peaches, apple, and pear trees ; together with the valuable olive, nectarines, and pomegranates. Wheat and rye, are also produced in great quantities, and the valley yields upwards of 4000 pipes of red wine per annum. Barilla is here manufactured to a great extent, and forms a valuable commodity for exportation. There are several qualities produced by combustion, but the *Salsola Kaliis* most pro-

fitable. The ground on which the weed grows, is carefully prepared and manured, and I saw several peasants employed in pulling it, which is done, much in the manner that we pull flax ; to make the barilla, a large hole is dug, over which is placed, a species of iron grate or bars, on which the weed is fixed and burnt ; when it is sufficiently dry, it melts, and falls into the space, prepared to receive it, being a species of metallic vegetable. On all sides of this valley, we saw persons industriously employed. The men were dressed with a shirt, and very loose wide trowsers, reaching no lower than the knee, made of coarse linen, and a red worsted sash round the waist, a hat with a broad brim and pointed crown ; the females wore a species of striped linsey petticoats, quite short, with tight stays, laced low down, their hair braided up, and secured with a long tin or silver skewer ; large gold or brass earrings ; some are barefoot, others wear stockings without feet, to keep off the moschettoes, and a species of sandal, made of matting, merely covering the sole of their feet and toes.

We reached the hospitable dwelling of Mr. Montgomery to dinner ; his farm was neat and valuable, and commanded a full view of the Mediterranean. Here, in the heart of Spain, weary of Spanish customs, manners, and diet, we enjoyed the gratification of spending an agreeable day in English or American society, and receiving information, at once amusing and instructive. Mr. Montgomery, at present far advanced in years, had an intelligent and accomplished family.

The next morning, we returned to Alicant, and proceeded to visit the town. It is a place of considerable commerce, and the main street, has a number of retail shops, well supplied with fancy articles. There are no elegant buildings, except the government house, which is spacious and neat, but placed in a confined situation, like all important edifices in Spain, without possessing the advantages of perspective ; a neat, but small Alamada is in front of this building, on which the ladies walk after night, as the heat of the day is excessive in Alicant ; several *neverreas*, or coffee houses, are in the neighbourhood, in which, ices and orgeat are sold ; these places are visited without hesitation, by fashionable people ; snow is substituted for ice ; this is gathered on the mountains, and rolled down, and brought to the city on mules, at considerable expense. There are several private buildings, which are neat and elegant,

particularly the Consular houses, situated in one row, facing the port. Superstition here, as in other places, is equally encouraged; indeed, on this point, a uniformity of opinion prevails in every part of Spain. In one of the back streets, is a picture of the holy family, and under it, a notification from the Bishop of Ohuerta, affording an indulgence of 40 days, to whoever does penance before it, that is, 40 days exemption from purgatory. Passing outside of the walls, and near a church, lay the bodies of two men, who had been suffocated by the miasma, in descending into an old well; as they were poor, a plate was placed on their bodies to receive charitable contributions, to *pay* the priests, to *pray* for their souls, as these pious, and extremely charitable ecclesiastics, could not grant the rights of sepulture, and one poor mass, *gratis*. To the east of the city, is an old church, bombarded by the English in 1608, and containing upwards of 250 shot holes. Fossils, Minerals, and Plants, are found in great quantities near Alicant, and afford to the botanist and naturalist, a fruitful source of inquiry and examination; and from the situation of the town, the summit of the mountains, and the cultivation of the valley, a variety of climates prevail, each possessing peculiar advantages.

We left Alicant, on the 13th of July, in the Spanish polacre brig San Cecelia, for Barcelona. There were four women passengers, who wholly occupied the cabin, leaving us part of the hatchway and steerage. We coasted with a pleasant south-west breeze, passed several villages, and anchored at Denia. The object of stopping at this town I could not discover; the captain, however, had some acquaintance or friend, to visit; for the least excuse, with these tardy voyagers, is a sufficient inducement, to pause on their journey to enjoy themselves. Denia was an important place, in the time of the Romans, several fine antiquities have been found, and are now to be seen here, but I had not time to explore the town: the Moors possessed and fortified it, and the Counts of Denia, gave an important character to the place. It is surrounded, partly by Roman, and partly, by a Moorish wall, and has a fortress built on a high and neighbouring hill; it is a poor mean town, and trades only in fruit. We set sail, but a calm prevented our getting out of sight of Denia, for an entire day; the weather was hot, and our passengers did not contribute to our comfort. The next day at noon, we came to, opposite a small village, within 6 miles of

Castelliogne, a place, from which the title of a French Marshal is derived ; we landed on the beach, and noticed a tall and athletic Spaniard, with a blanket thrown over his shoulder, and pistols in his girdle, pacing to and fro with rapid strides ; he was a Custom House officer, and doubtless the greatest smuggler in these parts : he had an air of ferocity, which appeared to capacitate him for desperate enterprizes. This little village, had but few houses, but a remarkably neat chapel, not unlike a country Church in America ; it exported locust for ship building ; I observed a large square stone building, surrounded by a ditch ; the French had used it as a fort, and barricadoed the windows, formed loop holes, and defended themselves against the Guerrillas.

Finding this disposition on the part of our captain, to stop at each port, extremely inconvenient, and occasioning delay and expense, I agreed with a farmer, to convey me in his cart to Tarragona ; Mr. Blodget joined me, but Mr. Smith, preferred continuing on board the polacre. We left *las Casas de Vinicase*, the name of the village, and wound up the mountains, through a fine road in excellent order, sufficiently wide, and the best I had yet seen in Spain. This road continued in good condition, with few exceptions, until we reached Barcelona. Our peasant and his mule proceeded tranquilly ; habit had confirmed him in a regular walk, out of which, beating could not induce him to go ; we stopped at *Oropesa*, a small village, having a castle situated on a high rock, but going to decay ; it formerly had been garrisoned, to prevent the visits of Barbary Cruisers, but now was abandoned. The plains and vallies, continued to be partially cultivated, but not thickly settled ; small villages, within a couple of leagues of each other, served to keep up intercourse. We arrived, fatigued and hungry in the evening, at *Torreblanca* ; the Posada was none of the best, but our good hostess, willing to prepare something for supper, seized a tough dunghill cock, decapitated him without ceremony, dissected the bird, and placed the parts in an earthen dish, with onions, and tomates ; we viewed the ceremony, of cooking the same, over a naffy of charcoal, and the addition of oil, of no great freshness, which was poured in the dish from a lamp feeder, sufficiently cured our appetite, without partaking of the dish. Some fine white grapes, fresh from the vine, with wholesome brown bread, and good table wine, formed our frugal repast, to which hunger gave a zest. Several

subalterns and Spanish soldiers, entered the Posada to lodge, they were on their way to Alicant; having eaten of the dish, that we had discarded, and drank copiously of *vino tinto*, they became noisy in their mirth, talked of their deeds in arms, how many Frenchmen they had killed, and finally they sung patriotic songs, and danced boleros. A large wagon, with four mules, stopped at the door, from which a respectable woman and her daughters alighted; they were travelling to Barcelona, and told me with much distress, that beyond Castellon, they had been stopped by eight peasants with blackened faces, who had robbed them of every thing valuable, and were even so ungallant, as to search them, and take away the money and jewels, secreted about their persons. The lady appeared greatly distressed, spoke of the impossibility of providing for their subsistence to Barcelona; I finally lent her an ounce, 16 dollars, and she assured me, gratefully, that she was a responsible person. I met her subsequently at Barcelona, and she paid me many flattering compliments, but did not return me my ounce.

We left *Toriblanco* at an early hour, after a restless and oppressive night, which was more acutely felt, in consequence of an excessive quantity of fleas, the never failing inmates of a Spanish Posada. In a short time we reached *Benicarlo*, situated on the borders of the Mediterranean; it is a village of some note, and exports a considerable quantity of wine: several feluccas, and one or two square rigged vessels, lay off the harbour waiting cargoes.—An old Scotch merchant, long a resident of the place, showed us some attention, and gave an interesting account of the proceedings of the French, and complained very seriously, of Marshal Suchet, for borrowing his mules and horses, without returning them: and the French officers generally, for emptying his wine vaults. The Spanish peasantry, spoke in terms of indignation, of the conduct of the French, which did not arise from any excess of cruelty, but for depriving them of articles, indispensable for their existence, for carrying away their cattle, consuming their grain, and the fruits of their vineyards. The opposition of the peasantry in Spain, which was by far the most effective, arose, more from the privations they suffered, than from any "*amor patriæ*;" with them, the contest was individual, not national.

The next morning, we entered Catalonia, and at once perceived that the soil and cultivation, were of a different order to any we had heretofore seen, and traits of industry and enterprise, were strikingly visible. We were surrounded by rich vallies of wheat, hemp, grape, olive, and almond, and peasants passed us smiling and brisk.

We saw *Tortosa* at a distance, and our eye lighted on the river *Ebro*; its muddy stream coursed rapidly through several bends and windings. We crossed it on a bridge of boats; it was this river, that Hannibal first saluted on his arrival with his army in Spain, and we viewed it with considerable interest. What scenes had passed, what battles, sieges, defeats, and victories, had this country witnessed. We imagined we saw the Carthagenian force, winding round the mountain, and pacing with warlike strides, the margin of the *Ebro*; their gallant chief with burnished armour, and brazen shield and helmet, leading them towards the Lusitanians, Gauls, and Iberians; alas! many centuries had passed, since the Numidians have slumbered peaceably with the Romans, since Hannibal and the Scipios, have been "quietly inurned." The river still gushed with vehemence; the venerable spires of *Tortosa*, were still visible, but the chieftains of antiquity, who had given celebrity to these plains, existed only in history.

Our passports were demanded, by a person stationed at the corner of a street, examined, and returned to us. *Tortosa*, one of the earliest cities built by the Romans, on every side, bears vestige of age and decay, and contains about eight thousand inhabitants. There are one or two fountains in the streets, covered with moss, and are extremely ancient. A Cathedral, large and ungracefully ornamented, faces the river—no splendid buildings embellish the city—the inhabitants were tranquilly occupied, and comfort, if not wealth, seemed to be enjoyed. Our muleteer was desirous of returning home, and we discharged him, and chartered a tartan, a small wagon with two mules for *Tarragona*; the seats were commodiously fixed, the feet rested on a mat, composed of grass ropes, arranged transversely, like bed cords. On leaving *Tortosa*, the country lost its former attractions, and from fine fields, and highly cultivated vineyards, it became horribly bare; we passed over several mountains, the roads were stony and rough, and after a fatiguing day's ride, we stopped at a miserable village on an emi-

nence, where we rested in a Posada, without a roof, which had been burnt by the French, and our mattresses were arranged for us on clean straw, surrounded by mules, and other domestic animals, whose noise prevented sleep, and with a full view of the heavens, thickly sown with twinkling stars. About day break, we resumed our journey; our breakfast, which seldom varied from bread, cheese, and wine, seasoned with an occasional bunch of grapes, we took in our wagon; the face of the country began gradually to improve, at length the eye was gratified with the sight of flourishing villages, and fruitful vallies, plains covered with verdure, and peasants with cheerful looks. We approached Tarragona, which shortly opened to our view, situated on a commanding eminence, and having the appearance of strength, and a good military position.

Tarragona, one of the most ancient and splendid cities of the Romans in Spain, has long been celebrated for its antiquities, and it boasted of its Theatres, Amphitheatres, Palaces, Aqueducts, Causeways, Temples, and Bridges; the ruins of which, are now to be seen, but the time required to explore them, was more extensive than I could spare, and I had to take merely a "bird's eye" view. It would occupy a small volume, to write a history of Tarragona from its Foundation, its Wars, Sieges, Chieftains, and commerce. It stands on a rising ground, half a mile from the harbour, which, at present, is excellent, and has a substantial mole. The town, which still maintains its Roman wall, is little more than a heap of ruins, it once contained 25,000 inhabitants, now not half that number reside there.

No city in Spain suffered more from the French. It was besieged by Suchet with 30,000 men for forty-five days, and defended by 20,000 English and Spaniards, and finally it was stormed, a breach was made, and a horrible massacre ensued; 4000 men were killed outside the walls, and nearly that number of men, women, and children, was put to the sword in that furious contest. It was here also, that the transaction occurred with the British troops, which disgraced Sir John Murray. The British had been so successful in Spain, that they could not tolerate a reverse of fortune. When the French were compelled to evacuate Tarragona, they acted like every thing but Frenchmen; they blew up an immense number of buildings, the Palace of Augustus, generally called the Palace of

Pontius Pilate, and a great part of the walls, at which 6000 men have been engaged in repairing. We entered the gate, and when the ceremony of reading passports had been concluded, proceeded to the extremity of a broad street, and stopped at a decent fonda called *La Cruz de Malta*. The whole town was in motion, and the Inn was crowded with travellers. We learnt that the next day was the anniversary of the evacuation of the place by the French, as well as that of St. Magi, the Patron Saint of Tarragona, and we shortly walked through the place, to see the preparations for celebrating these festivals. The streets and houses bear strong marks of antiquity, the one being exceedingly narrow, the other low, heavy, and gloomy. We first bent our course to the Cathedral, a most venerable and extensive pile of buildings, with an ascent of a number of stone steps, and situated at the head of a street, maintaining a commanding position. The interior is gloomy, the faint rays of light being admitted from the coloured glass, and the fretted roof, supported by a vast number of pillars, curiously wrought and ornamented with *basso relievos*. On one side, is a superb Chapel, built entirely of ~~jasper~~ *jasper*, and the whole appearance of this ancient and extensive Cathedral, is at once grand and imposing. Adjoining it, are the ruins of the Palace of Augustus, which with a number of houses, were blown up by the French. The population of Tarragona were in the streets, dressed in their best attire; festoons of flowers, were extended from balcony to balcony; booths, containing refreshments and confectionery, were erected in every street, and on all sides the enlivening sound of the mandoline and guitar were heard. I perceived for the first time, the gipsy dances. This race of people, peculiar from their habits, is numerous in Spain, they are called *Gitanas*, and their dark complexion, their black hair and piercing eyes, at once display a distinct and foreign origin. They paraded the squares in small parties, dressed in short jackets, made principally of blue cotton velvet, and wore small brass bells around their ancles, their music was a Moorish drum and tabor. They formed a ring, in the centre of which, a long pole was fixed, from the top of the pole, a number of cords were suspended, each of which, was held by one of the party at a distance, forming rays, or extending like the whalebones of an umbrella. One of the gipseys then commenced dancing by himself, without any grace, but with much agility, and singular gestures; passing through each one of the party, which remained stationary with the

cords in their hands. On a given signal, the whole party commenced dancing, in which they wove the cord round the pole, with much neatness, like the weaving on a whip handle, and by changing their positions, they unwound the cord in the same order. Another party assembled, dressed in various habits, some like Moors, others like Angels, Spaniards, and Devils; they were preceded by a man playing on a violin, and stopped in different parts of the city, faced one another, and commenced performing something like a Drama. I drew near to listen. It was a history of the victories over the Moors; each person had a verse to deliver, between which, the violin would strike up a few notes, and the party danced into different positions. In this play, traits of national character were plainly visible in the vain glorious boastings, of their superior valour to the Morescoes. Nothing could exceed the gaiety and hilarity, that generally prevailed, and I marked, with great satisfaction, that the utmost order and propriety were observed, and not a single instance of intoxication or quarrelling, was discernible; indeed, it must be admitted, that temperance, is an undeniable trait in the Spanish character, they hold a drunkard in the utmost abhorrence. I perceived, at the end of a street, and near the wall, some Roman inscriptions, which I could not decipher, after many attempts. Outside the City, a Roman Bridge and Aqueduct are to be seen in good preservation. A Spanish soldier fired on Mr. Smith, the ball passed near his head, we had no time to enquire into the cause of this unprovoked act, and if we had, it would have been difficult to have obtained satisfaction.

We left Tarragona the next day, highly gratified with our visit, and at a short distance from the town, we came in sight of the tomb erected to the memory of the Scipios, the father and uncle of Scipio Africanus. It is a square building, having two stone statues on each side. Here was the spot, where the last battle was fought by the Romans in Iberia. We passed through *Altafulia* and *Torrerbarra*, two flourishing villages; the road was rough, but generally, in good condition; and about twelve miles from Tarragona, we arrived at a noble triumphal arch, built by Hannibal, to commemorate a victory, gained over the Romans on this spot. We alighted to view it. The arch built of masses of smooth stone, stands directly across the road, and consists of three divisions, a large and two small ones; it is in excellent preservation; the Spa-

niards, with a spirit I was not prepared to expect, having been particular in keeping it in repair. This was one of the spots, to which Hannibal had given celebrity by his arms. No warrior of antiquity was so well known in Spain, Gaul and Italy. I had yet to see Carthage, the theatre of his great exploits; and I viewed this arch with interest and attention, as it marked the progress of his brave career. We stopped to dine at a village, called *Vendrail*, a small town, supported principally by coöpering; we had good fare at a reasonable price, and ate a hearty dinner, with wooden spoons and forks; silver, being a luxury unknown, and other metals were equally scarce. Our guide and his mules took their meal peaceably together. We continued our route, and passed through the village of *Labase*; here was fought the first battle between the French and Spaniards; here the yeomanry, always the surest support of a country, resisted the invaders. The country presented a cheering aspect, fields of hemp, and vineyards of the shrub vine and blue grapes, presented a varied and agreeable prospect to the eye; the roads improved, and so flourishing is this part of Spain, that we passed through thirteen villages, in a distance of twenty-five miles, and reached *Villa Franca* to sleep. This is a small city, surrounded by a slight wall, and built on a plain; the streets are narrow, ill paved, and not lighted; it was dark when we passed through it, and we saw a party of *Gitanas* dancing. We put up at a good *Posada*, and a supper of roasted partridges, fish, bread and wine, without vegetables, was prepared for us. *Sallad* is a great favorite with the Spanish people, and they have a singular attachment to rancid oil, with which they dress it. We left *Villa Franca* at day break; our passengers in the *Tartan*, were a dominican friar, and two Spanish women, who were journeying towards *Barcelona*. The friar, was a hearty old fellow, who did not aspire to any higher rank than a good natured beggar, fond of a good joke, and withal very witty, he had no hopes of ecclesiastical preferment, and therefore, made himself merry with the priests; the two women, were represented to us as honest, notable housewives; they conversed however, upon interdicted subjects, with perfect indifference. About eight miles from *Villa Franca*, at *Valin de Roso*, are the hills and entrenchments, where an obstinate battle was fought, between the French, Spanish and English armies; in which 70,000 men were engaged; some bones were still scattered on the surface of the earth, to mark the sanguinary spot. The roads began to assume a finished appearance, and were built in a

masterly manner ; the ditches flanked with stone, and a bed of rock and gravel pulverised, rendered the surface smooth and hard ; these wound round the mountains in the finest order, and a stupendous stone bridge, the highest pier of which was 150 feet, connected one mountain with another. In a distance of 48 miles, no less than 94 excellent stone bridges are built. The scenery was highly picturesque : We came in sight of the mountains of Montserrat, whose high and curious shaped cones, pierce the clouds, and are covered with snow. In these mountains a hospital and monastery are built, which formerly were well endowed. We approached Barcelona, which is built on level ground, surrounded by no obstructions, and very strongly fortified. The road was filled with travellers and peasants going to market ; the people appeared better clad, and every thing around us, denoted a more industrious and flourishing population, than any we had yet seen. Indeed Catalonia, may be called the most valuable part of Spain. From Tarragona, the peasantry though equally ignorant, were more spirited and enterprising, we observed the plough frequently used, and the fields better cultivated. The women were principally employed in making lace. The method of making it, is on a cushion, stuffed with straw, and covered with smooth fine cloth, a sheet of white paper, is thrown over it, on which the lace is made. I saw a girl working 140 bobbins, with much dexterity and neatness. We drove through a gate, at which a centinel was on guard, passed slowly through narrow streets, with houses exceedingly high, and painted with various allegorical figures and devices, and divested of that Moorish air, so discernible at Cadiz. We stopped at the fonda *La quarro naciones*, on the Alameda, and discharged our muleteer and his heavy wagon.

Barcelona, was not built for upwards of three hundred years after the Carthaginians had occupied Spain ; it was originally called Barkino, after its founder, and passed into the hands of the Moors, after the usual vicissitudes ; but in 994, the Spaniards possessed themselves of it, and it became with Catalonia, an independent city and province, and this independence, gave rise to the great agricultural, manufacturing and commercial prosperity, for which the province has been ever celebrated. The Jews, who had resided in great numbers in this city and neighbourhood, gave it all its commercial advantages, and set on foot, those manufactories and enterprising expeditions, for which those spirited people have been eminent. They enjoyed great influence and wealth, and had col-

leges for teaching the languages, and natural philosophy. The country around Barcelona abounds in Hebrew inscriptions, particularly near Montserrat. In the twelfth century, it was annexed to the crown of Arragon, and finally a "killing frost" came over it by its becoming Spanish property. Barcelona once contained 160,000 inhabitants, which number, by a decrease of prosperity, has been reduced to 90,000; it is surrounded by a strong wall with ditches: that part, facing the sea, is composed of ramparts, forming a pleasant walk; an excellent and elegant mole, built at a vast expense, runs from a tongue of land for a considerable distance, forming a half moon or crescent, on the end of which, a neat light house is erected; the roads are safe, and the anchorage good. The city is filled with manufactories; every body appears at work; calico printers, gun-smiths in great numbers, and manufacturing the best quality of fowling pieces; lock-smiths needle and nail makers, lace manufacturers, silk weavers, and almost every species of mechanical art, are carried on in this city; notwithstanding which, it is still decaying. It was mentioned to me, as an instance of peculiar prosperity, that at one period, the number of carriages belonging to individuals, amounted to 700; at present, there was but one in the city, and that one, belonging to an American ex-consul, by the name of Leonard. There were but two American merchants residing in Barcelona, one was the acting consul Mr. Carol, the other Mr. Thorndike, of Boston. I was informed by the latter gentleman, that the hulls of two Spanish seventy-four gun ships, in excellent order, were to be sold at Mahon by public auction, the Spaniards having no use for them. It was mentioned, that these two ships, in the present scarcity of money, would not, in all probability, bring more than \$20,000 each, and it occurred to me, that if they could be purchased for the United States, and brought into Tunis under the Spanish flag, that they could be fitted out, on the termination of our war with Great Britain, for a small expense, and thus secure an important addition to our navy, in our war with Algiers, as Spanish seventy-four's, are generally faithfully built. I wrote to Mr. Crawford, the American minister at Paris, on this subject, after my arrival in France: he replied promptly, but could take no steps for want of power and means.

Barcelona has three superb Alamadas, or public walks, the one, near the Custom House, which is lined with trees, and ornament-

ed with fountains, is extremely beautiful. The Custom House is a building of considerable extent, faced with white marble, and embellished with figures, some in *basso relievoes*, others sculptured at full length, with devices and ornaments, emblematical of commerce, peace, and the arts. The Royal Exchange, which is a short distance from the Custom House, far exceeded any public building I had hitherto seen in Spain. It is the most convenient in its arrangement, the most neat and splendid specimen of architecture, to be found in the kingdom. A Theatre, facing our fonda, and of considerable extent, is very neatly ornamented. We saw a Tragedy, indifferently performed, and a Fandango danced with considerable taste.

In Barcelona, we lived much in the usual manner, as we did in Alicant; the city, however, having been long occupied by the French, a shade of French manners and habits, was discernible, not only in dress, but in the organization, and interior arrangement of the houses. Our host of the Quarto Naciones, was rather more polite, than the usual run of Spanish landlords; and to give an idea of the importance of his hotel, in its foreign relations, he chalked on the door of the room we occupied, the word, *Filedelfi*, being probably, the only city in America, with the name of which, he was familiar; he showed us his kitchen, and the economical arrangement of dogs which turned his spits. As usual, the ladies walked on the Alameda in the Evening, with their *Cortejos* and husbands, ornamented with the *Mantilla* and fan, and followed by the old and cross looking duenna in black. The females generally in Barcelona, have more fair and clear complexions, than in other parts of Spain, and are much handsomer; we accounted for this, by a difference of climate, a proximity to the sea and the Pyrenean mountains, the blue peaks of which, could, in a clear day, be seen from Montserrat. The Catalans generally, are frugal and industrious, orderly and honest; their dress does not differ essentially from that in other provinces; they wear red caps, and attach the net or Redicalla to their hair, velvet breeches, and jacket with silver buttons, and a red worsted sash bound tight round their waist. Barcelona, as usual with other cities in Spain, has its full share of Churches, Monasteries, Monks, and Friars; they are seen on all sides, and the Religious institutions, the habits of their Priests, and customs of their Nunneries, are ever the same; super-

stitution reigns without controul. They have also academies of fine arts well attended. These Academies, are not exhibitions of painting and sculpture, but schools of art, where drawing, architecture, and other branches of the arts, are taught to students ; persons are also instructed in navigation ; there is a cabinet of natural history, and some good libraries. Barcelona may be called a large manufacturing town ; every person is employed at some mechanical business, and the smutty faces and " clink of hammers," are seen and heard on all sides. The city once carried on a most valuable and important commerce, and exported to every part of the world, brandy and wines, of various qualities, wrought silk, and silk goods, cottons, woollens, cork-wood, nuts, almonds, raisins, and other articles ; the commerce has dwindled to insignificance, and very few merchants of great capital, now carry on business. Formerly, a thousand vessels annually arrived and sailed from Barcelona ; the number at present, does not exceed two hundred.

We chartered a Tartan, to carry us to Perpignan, in France, for a reasonable sum, it was constructed in the usual heavy and awkward manner, the seats were on springs, and the inside ornamented with curtains of a gaudy hue, with tassels and fringes ; our feet rested on a mat, placed on the cords which formed the bottom of the wagon. Having laid in the necessary provisions, we started, at a full gallop, with a pair of good mules, which very shortly fell into the old slow pace and jog-trot. We passed a fine valley in high cultivation, the aspect of which was cheering, and the prospect varied with fields of corn, hemp, beans, and grape, and arrived at *Mataro*, a flourishing sea-port town, regularly built, exceedingly clean, neat, and prosperous. The inhabitants were all employed in farming, making lace and silk stockings, and appeared to amount to about six thousand. I perceived that they used the common hoe, for almost every purpose of agriculture, and a new species of plough drawn by one horse ; the soil is light and rich, requiring but little labour ; hedges are planted with the Aloe. We reached *Arens* in the evening ; a small town used as a watering-place ; and passed the night with our countryman, Mr. Thorndike, of Boston, whom we found intelligent and hospitable. We had passed through four fishing villages, situated on the beach, each house having a neat garden in front, the same industry, activity and economy prevailed. Women driving mules, were at the same time, spinning with a dis-

staff under their arms, and a bobbin in their right hand—children with baskets picking up manure on the roads ; every thing around us appeared prosperous, and in motion.

We left *Jrens* at day break, and stopped at *Tordeira* to breakfast, which we made for ourselves in a poor house, where nothing but wood and water could be found. The roads continued in excellent order, and peasants were employed in peeling the bark from cork trees. Oxen were also used in ploughing, and a harrow, which we observed for the first time, was drawn over the light and crumbling soil : the men wore *sabots*, or wooden shoes ; and we discerned a portion of French habits and costume, the nearer we approached the Pyrenees. At night, we put up at a poor and lonely house on the margin of the road, little frequented, and having no accommodations for travellers.

We reached Gerona the next morning to breakfast, which was plentifully served, in a neat and cleanly manner at the *Croix D'or*, and as we observed, was the best we had yet partook of in Spain. Gerona is delightfully situated on a declivity, bounded by rich vallies in excellent cultivation. It was besieged, in 1808, by marshal Augereau, with 35,000 men for seven months, and during this period, every kind of provision was consumed, and 10,000 persons perished with famine ; and many houses and churches were laid in ruins, by the bombs and shells thrown into the town. It capitulated after a most obstinate defence, maintained by a few thousand Catalans ; and it proved, on the very threshold of the revolution, that the Spaniards could stand a siege, better than any other nation on earth, and the affair of Saragossa confirmed the opinion. In entering Gerona, we passed over a Roman bridge in good repair ; the walls around the town are ancient and decayed, the streets narrow and ill paved. The city is nearly depopulated ; it formerly contained 15,000 inhabitants, which number is now reduced to 6,000. The Cathedral is a magnificent pile, with high arched windows and painted glass. Many of the nobility are here interred, their arms are sculptured in *basso relievoes* over their monuments.

We continued our journey, the roads gradually became bad, and we were impeded in our progress by rocks and other obstacles. The soil also was poorer, a few olive trees, and some wheat were only cultivated, and at six o'clock in the evening, we arrived at *Figueras*, a distance of twenty one miles from Gerona. This city, the

last fortified town in Spain of any note, contains about 7,000 inhabitants. Such had been our impressions of the strength and position of *Figueras*, concerning which, so much had been said by military men, that we had already in anticipation, supposed it to be an impregnable castle, situated on a mountain, commanding the surrounding country, and inaccessible to a besieging force. We were surprised however, to find the town built on an extensive plain, and on a rising ground, about half a mile distance, the celebrated fortress was erected. It contains within its walls, quarters for 50,000 men, together with magazines, stores, houses, &c.; surrounded by a ditch, with glacis and bastions, the whole is bomb proof and capable of resisting a besieging army, with a small force. We were in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees; heavy and dense clouds, gave a chilling effect to the atmosphere. We left *Figueras* at four o'clock the next morning, and passed over a level country to *Jonquir*, the last frontier town in Spain. Here the officer, appointed to examine our passports, was disposed to give us some trouble; there was no mention of carriage in the passport, and he gave orders to stop the tartan, but permit us to pursue our journey. His object was to obtain a *douceur*, which we were not disposed to give, and after an hour's detention, and some spirited expostulation, he dismissed us with a courtly wave of his hand, and a few Spanish anathemas. We now began to ascend the Pyrenees, the day was clear but the wind high, we discerned the peaks piercing the clouds, and all the romances, and legendary tales of these celebrated and stupendous mountains, occurred to our imagination. We had no guard, and the passes and defiles were crowded with banditti. The road was circuitous, but of easy ascent and in the finest condition, the resources of Spain and France, being freely applied, in clearing the obstructions of the mountains. At ten o'clock we arrived at the line which separates the two countries. On the Spanish side, a marble slab is affixed, bearing the insignia and armorial bearings of the kingdom, with inscriptions, characteristic of its weakness and vanity. Here were titles by wholesale, *Illustrissimo*, *Serenissimo*, *Princessimo*, *Carlos IV.* and his whole court, ministers and confessors, in letters exquisitely cut and ornamented. On the French side, and standing near it, a dark stone was affixed in the earth, covered with moss, and "blasting his wholesome brother," on which was simply inscribed, GAUL. How expressive! how full, effective and characteristic! a distinction on such a trifling object as this, marked at once, the

difference of national character ; the one, weak, flimsy and impotent ; the other powerful, collected and undaunted ; one resorting to fictitious means, to support rank ; the other, indifferent to titles, and frowning on empty compliment. Facing these land and boundary marks, on a high and commanding position, the fortifications of *Bellegarde* are erected ; they are in possession of the French, and effectually secure the passes. For many centuries, the boundaries of France and Spain, have been the cause of war and negotiation ; the treaty of 1600, prudently affixed the Pyrenees, as the division line of the two kingdoms, nature had long pointed them out, as fit objects to terminate the contest ; neither party could object to this boundary, as the Pyrenees produce nothing valuable ; rocks, precipices, the cork tree, and the stunted ilix, together with brush and underwood, are all that are found, in these dreary wilds.

From a good position, I cast my eyes on the vale below, and took a last view of Spain without regret. To the left, lay the bay of Rosas, and the Mediterranean, which are seen by the opening of the mountain. *Castillon de Empurias*, a small town at the foot of the bay is just discernible ; fronting us, an extensive valley, partly cultivated, a plain at a distance, and several hills rising gently above each other, covered with villages and vineyards, to the right ; masses of rocks, and mountain piled on mountain, the peaks covered with snow, awful and grand, give to the prospect, variety and interest.

Providence has been bountiful to Spain. The country combines a fruitful soil, with a pure and healthy climate. Nature has poured her riches in the lap of this fine kingdom, which Man has neglected to improve. There is a fatality attending the whole course of Spanish measures, since they first occupied the country. They found it in possession of the Moors, who had improved on the previous enterprise of the Phœnicians and Romans. Without one narrow sentiment, these gallant and elegant people, made every thing flourish ; fruitful provinces, prosperous villages, splendid palaces, gardens like those of Eden, schools of arts and science, attest their great minds, their soft yet manly dispositions. A fatal success attended the arms of Spain. They warred for religion ; they found the Mussulmen in their Mosques, adoring that great Being, the Father of Mankind, whom we all acknowledge, and they were put to death as *Infidels*. The flourishing country of these *infidels*, a second Paradise, was laid waste, their seminaries of learning were razed with the ground, their palaces destroyed,

they, banished from their homes, were driven as outcasts to Africa. In the eyes of Spaniards, nothing that the damned Morescoes and Infidels erected or established, could be just, mild, or rational. Fatal error, which for seven centuries, has buried the Spanish people in ignorance and fanaticism ; and which has laid the foundation, for that decay of national strength and character, which now is keenly felt. Instead of preserving the institutions of the Moors, instead of holding out the hand of toleration and confidence of these enterprising people, the Spaniards banished them, and trampled on their works. The sun of their prosperity, set on Spain for ever, as the last descendant of the Abencerrages passed out of the walls of Grenada. It required, however, some time to destroy effectually, a country which for centuries had been prosperous. Spain reversed the order of things, and decayed gradually. They became, however, a commercial people, and possessed themselves of Peru and Mexico, the wealth of which paralyzed industry ; and depending on the resources of foreign possessions, they materially neglected to improve their natural advantages.

The government in Spain was originally predicated upon a dangerous basis, they combined Church and State, and, in a very short time, the influence of Ecclesiastics, undermined the power of Civilians, and the king and his cabinet, the army and navy, the nobility and merchants, the peasant and the slave, gradually fell under the dominion of the Church, whose possessions were extravagantly increased, and wantonly expended. The souls and consciences of every person, were at the disposal of the Priest ; crimes which nature shudders at, were committed, and absolution *purchased* ; abject submission was enforced by the terrors of the inquisition, that curse of Spain and humanity. The Priests never married. They were strangers to the endearing ties of nature and affection, no wife mingled her voice in counsel or tenderness, no child “ climbed the knee, the envied kiss to share.” These bonds of union, and compacts of love, never existed. A barren waste produces only weeds. The Priests wrapped in their mantle of infallibility, shielded by the potent charms of the Inquisition ; their mandate imperative as the law of the Medes and Persians, stalked through the kingdom like a pestilence, encouraging ignorance, absolving crime, checking industry, disturbing the peace of families, and filling the country with illegitimate scions of a degenerate stock. Such is

the abuse of Religion in Spain ; its appeal is to the eye, not to the heart ; to the fears, not the affection of the people ; and these are the sole causes of the empty, evanescent character, which Spain now fully claims. It is reasonable then, to ascribe the misfortunes of Spain, to their deplorable fanaticism, and still more deplorable ignorance. To swell the income of Churches and Monasteries, to minister to the appetites, and desire of Priests, an oppressive taxation has been established, from which, they have been exempted ; the peasant, compelled to appropriate a large portion of his agricultural products to the Church and State, became indolent and poor, the merchant, taxed according to his resources, lost his enterprise, the mechanic, obliged to bestow a moiety of his labour, became indifferent ; every branch of industry, enterprise, arts and science, felt the paralyzing influence of ecclesiastical dominion. The king himself, his army, navy, and ministers of state, all bending under this controlling, and oppressive power, and religious fetes, procession of Saints, days of fast, and penitence, absorbing the time, and consuming the means of the people. On the return of Ferdinand the 7th to Spain, various fetes and rejoicing were ordered. I saw a procession of children in Cadiz, bearing the picture of the king, with banners, music, &c. they were supported by Priests, who ever and anon, whispered in their tender ears, "*cry out viva la religion.*" These measures, which are obstacles to the exercise of pure religion, make the people ever subservient to the Priests ; to them they apply for advice and absolution, and this power of absolving crime, which only is an attribute of God himself, is one of the active means, to encourage vice and push on mischief.

Literature, Arts, and Science are at a low ebb, and maintain at this day, a feeble and decaying existence. Spain has produced some excellent scholars, some fine poets, some able civilians, and her great men of antiquity, would have immortalized any other country. They now have neither ability, nor inclination, to patronise the sciences. Their army, composed of some brave men, particularly among the peasantry, are poorly disciplined, clothed, and paid ; many of their principal officers, being reduced to the necessity of asking alms from strangers of competent means. Their navy, never was well manned or disciplined, although their ships were faithfully and elegantly built, and when the regulations, equipments, government, and discipline of a Spanish line of battle

ship are examined, the victories of St. Vincent and Trafalgar will lose their brilliant colouring.

The amusements of the Spaniards consist in dancing, walking, playing cards or billiards, visiting the Theatres, or Tertulias (evening parties,) and these amusements, are sought after with avidity, because solitude is to them insufferable, they read so little, and find in their own minds, so few exhilarating resources. In their domestic relations, they are generally tranquil and indifferent, they have no convivial board, no conversation around the cheerful fire-side. Spanish women, who form the most important and influential portion of the population, are generally amiable, except when aroused by a fit of jealousy, which is not an uncommon thing; their persons are small, sometimes delicate; and the climate, together with the nature of their food, soon impair their constitution. They have no industry, and are unacquainted with domestic economy; animated, always agreeable, and frequently artful, they are pleasant as an acquaintance, but not desirable as a friend; their music is plaintive and affecting, and the guitar is the favourite instrument; their gait is easy, dignified, and graceful. They are not taciturn like the men, on the contrary, an incessant volubility, which the fine language aids, renders the company of a Spanish lady, by no means tedious. They are the patrons of religion; the women, contribute more than the men, to maintain the ascendancy of the Priests. They never neglect attending mass, are ever on the knee before the confessional box, and a fat jolly Priest, with rosy cheeks and smiling looks, is the constant inmate of the family, the ghostly and temporal director, the supervisor general, the appendage to the toilet, and the patron of the pantry. No wonder, then, that their influence is so widely spread, and so generally felt. The age of Chivalry, gave a peculiar tone to Spanish manners, which even at the present day, has lost none of its effects, and they speak of themselves, as descendants of the knights of Calatrava, and other orders, and are filled from "top to toe," with their gallantry and honour; all this is in imagination; a little more in practice, and less in precepts, would benefit Spain. They have high notions of honour, which they take care a stranger shall know, but they rely more on what they *have* been, for character, than what they are now. Spain has expended her resources, and trades upon a fictitious capital; this fine country, is in a wretched condi-

tion, the kingdom, does not contain one third the population it is capable of supporting ; there are few good roads, and no accommodations for travellers, no stages or light carriages, and even post-horses, cannot be procured, unless it is on a royal road. It is, therefore the last country, which should be visited for pleasure ; health and business are the only rational inducements, for a journey through Spain.

Our relations with Spain, have been disturbed for fifteen years past, and a long unsettled account of spoliations and aggressions, evidently proves, that we have shown more forbearance towards this monarchy, than to any other continental power. France, for many years, pursued towards us, an unprovoked series of oppressive measures, to which she made Spain a party. Great Britain, in our late war, made free use of the territories of Spain to annoy us ; in all cases, it has appeared, that Spain has been dragged in as an auxiliary to other powers, although it is not to be denied, that no cordial disposition, or friendly temper has been evinced towards us by her. We have almost exhausted negotiation in order to obtain justice, and a surrender of the Floridas ; a territory useless and expensive to Spain, and indispensable to the safety of our frontier. They must eventually be ours ; and a perseverance of judicious efforts, will, ere long, place them under American controul.

The cabinet of Madrid is wretchedly organized ; the king, though not a man of talents, is not as ignorant as he is represented to be, but he is devoured by bigotry and fanaticism, and the good points in his character, are obscured by a spirit of religious zeal and intolerance. The cabinet ministers, are not deficient in ability, they know the defects in the government, but they cannot be remedied ; a minister is appointed, he adopts new measures, they fail in producing a beneficial result, and he is disgraced ; another is appointed, and the result is the same ; the disease being so deeply rooted, cannot be cured. Every thing in Spain must be reversed, to produce a reform, at once beneficial and radical, and the impossibility of effecting this object, gives encouragement to venality and intrigue. The great effort of Spain at present, is to check the independence of South America ; this is impossible, the very circumstance of the population in the revolting provinces, being more numerous, than those in the mother country, puts resistance at defiance. South America will be independent of Spain. Whether

they will be free or not, depends upon their rejection of Spanish laws and customs, a perfect system of religious freedom, of education, science, and the arts ; without these indispensable attributes of liberty, they will only be released from foreign chains, to put domestic shackles on themselves. Spain can only prosper on her own resources, and by releasing colonies which she cannot controul, an advantageous commerce might be established, by abolishing old laws and customs, and adopting new ones to suit the times.— There is still left for her, a road to prosperity and character.

PART III.

FRANCE,

AT length we were in France, and crossed the boundary line into the country of Charlemagne, Henry the 4th, and the Emperor Napoleon; a country, which in arts, in arms, and in science, has no rival, and which has been the theatre of most surprising events, even from periods of antiquity. We stopped for a short time, at the village of Bellegarde, where our passports were examined, and our baggage inspected by Custom-House officers. The village contained about thirty houses, and was situated on the extreme height of the mountain, so that when we left it, we began to descend by a circuitous road, in the finest order. This road, which was composed of blue rock pulverized, pursued a serpentine direction, and the passes were occasionally secured by bridges from rock to rock, so that a small body of men, can defend them, from an invading force. The descent was safe and easy, and we stopped at the village of *Boulou*, about four miles from Bellegarde to dinner. Every thing was changed; we had but just left a country, through which we had journeyed for many days, under privations the most painful, and in tedious monotony: we now, were seated around a table plentifully supplied. Our hostess, polite and affable; the interior of the house neatly ornamented; the peasants happy and cheerful, and the cost but trivial: we began to feel the difference. Our Spanish muleteer shook his head significantly, while partaking of a fricassee of fowls, and a glass of excellent wine; "this is a fine *eating* country, *Señor*," said he, "it has some advantages of us in *that* respect, I must confess." His appetite did not get the better of his *amor patriæ*, but the Spanish *arrero*, felt the exhilarating effects of a good dinner and civil treatment; he cracked his whip, and his mules moved

with expedition. The country was finely cultivated, and we saw more farm houses on the margin of the road, than we did in Spain. Towards evening we came in sight of Perpignan, the first fortified town in France ; outside of the walls, and under a grove of trees, a number of officers were walking with ladies ; some were gaily sporting on the grass ; others, with lively and hurried steps, were playfully concealing themselves behind the hedges ; the ladies wore uncommonly high bonnets, which since have been translated to our country ; the gentlemen with enormous cocked hats and uniform coats, much neater and better ornamented than the Spaniards. We walked our tartan to observe their sports, it appeared to be a festival of some kind, by the number of persons abroad. Having arrived under the walls, we alighted at the Golden Horse, a hotel of an unpromising exterior, but very comfortable within. Having discharged our guide, who appeared the greatest mule of the three, and not without some grumbling on his part, we sallied forth to view the town.

Perpignan is a very ancient city, and was held by the Romans in the 636th year of their æra. The houses are principally built of brick, the streets narrow, and the number of inhabitants amount to about ten thousand. One of the churches, ~~has~~ a cast iron steeple, which nevertheless has a light appearance ; the wall is of brick and much decayed, with strong citadels and towers ; the whole surrounded by a ditch, having three entrances over bridges. Large quantities of military stores, are here collected ; the artillery is principally Spanish, and the dialect of the people has a Spanish provincial accent, arising from the contiguity of situation, and the customary intercourse. We passed on to the public square, which was ornamented with wreaths of flowers, and transparencies ; the people assembled in great numbers ; men and women were gaily dancing, and an air of happiness seemed generally to prevail. On one of the transparencies was written "*Le tres fidele ville de Perpignan a Louis 18th*", on another *La fortune nous rends les Bourbons,*" on a third, "*Homage a Louis le Desiree,*" the mystery was explained ; they were joyfully celebrating the return of the Bourbons, and dancing away, with a happy peculiarity of temper, the remembrance of Bonaparte and all his glory. Charming people, who could change their allegiance with so much ease and gaiety, and who could, with perfect nonchalance, substitute the *fleur de lis* for the *Eagle*, or the *Eagle* for the *fleur de lis*, as political

events required. They were dancing with ease and elegance ; the women dressed with simplicity and neatness, were uncommonly pretty ; the music were violins and clarionets and such was their loyalty, that they forgot Louis the 18th and his family, in the more important concerns of the *pidgeon wing and piruet*.

After viewing, or, as the French would call it, assisting at this national fete, we visited the Theatre, and for the first time, I saw a French Opera. The Théâtre faced a public square, the front was plain and extremely neat, and the decorations of the interior were handsome. The Opera was "*Blaize et Babet*," the music of which is very agreeable ; the characters were well sustained, the dialogue sprightly, and the *Corps de Ballet* respectable, it was altogether equal to any thing we had seen in Spain, and gave us a favourable idea of the French Drama. Early the next morning, a diligence coach called for us and our baggage. These are heavy but convenient stages, carrying only six inside passengers, and three in the cabriolet, which is in front, and the best place to see the country, when the weather is fine. The baggage was secured behind, in a wicker basket, and rendered safe by a chain, which is tightened by a small windlass. The diligence is drawn by five horses, two in the shaft, and three in front. Two French ladies were passengers, and also two gentlemen, and conversation soon became lively and general. We passed through a finely cultivated and cheerful country, bearing marks of affluence and comfort ; the first nine miles being through a fruitful vale, and then appeared a tract of land rather barren, and bounded by a lake, which reached nearly to Narbonne. In the town of *Lalois*, a castle is standing in good repair, which was erected by Charles the 5th, and a short distance farther on the road, the stone still exists, which formerly marked the boundaries of the two kingdoms. This was erected by the Gauls, and continued as the boundary, until the Pyrenees were decided upon to form the line. The peasant women wear hats with large brims, to shield them from the sun and rain, the children had pads around their forehead, to prevent any injury in the event of falling, they were well clothed, and apparently well fed, and no appearance of poverty or want was discernible.

We reached Narbonne to dinner. This is one of the oldest towns in France, and, was once considered the first city in Gaul. Julius Cæsar, here established a strong military po-

sition, and appointed the tenth legion to hold their quarters there. Augustus resided in Narbonne, during the most prosperous period of his reign, and a splendid amphitheatre, and other public buildings, were erected, of which no traces are now left. It is about two leagues from the sea, and lies on the river *Aude*, which is navigable; the houses are old and mean, and the city is surrounded by a wall, having four gates, two ancient and two modern. There is a very old church, with a steeple of singular grandeur; among several curious antique monuments in this church, is one of Philip the Bold, who, in 1285, died at Perpignan. It is said, that his body was, by his request, brought to Narbonne, and after being boiled in wine and water, was dissected, the skeleton and heart being sent to Paris, the flesh and bowels deposited in this church; this was a curious whim, but he was a king, and had a right to be whimsical. Philip the Bold, was a dashing character, and was seldom observed to mix water with his wine when alive.

Grain is an article of considerable traffic, which is cultivated to a great extent, together with honey and aromatic herbs. The city contains about 6000 inhabitants, amongst which, the women and priests constitute the greatest portion. The Counts of Narbonne were formerly of distinguished character; in modern times it has produced no person of eminence.

While dinner was preparing, we took a walk to inspect the canal of Languedoc, which runs through this place towards Toulouse.— This noble canal, which unites the Mediterranean with the Bay of Biscay, was projected by Ricquet, during the reign of Louis the 14th. It is not much used, but is finished with the utmost fidelity, with embankments, and stone work; locks and culverts, and the government are at considerable pains, to keep it in repair.

Our dinner was of the best kind, it was a *tabel d'hote*, and filled with well-dressed persons; we had Burgundy at four francs per bottle, of a pale violet colour, and of fine flavour.

We took our seats in the diligence to Montpellier; although but six persons are admitted, there is nevertheless a choice of places, and the four first on the list, have the four corner seats, which have padded cushions to rest the head against, and a netting suspended from the top to hold hats and canes. A lady occupied one of the corners, the three others being reserved for my fellow-passengers

and myself. A fat Frenchman, with a white night cap on, and a surtout buttoned to the neck, clambered in with some difficulty, and claimed the corner seat occupied by the lady ; come, turn out said this *gourmand*, who authorised you to take my place ? the lady expostulated, and hinted something about the gallantry of a Frenchman ; gallantry or no gallantry, turn out—I am number one on the list ; my quaker friend waxed wroth, and soon made the Frenchman sensible, that it was best for him to let the lady alone, and occupy a middle seat, which he did, and grumbled all the way to Montpellier.

We set off at ten o'clock at night, the moon shining clear and bright, and passed through several villages ; at six o'clock the next morning, we arrived at *Pezenas*, a neat village, in which many silk worms are raised ; passing through fields of corn and wheat, we met several women astride on horseback, a position certainly safe, and not ungraceful ; at four o'clock, we arrived at Montpellier, and alighted at a very superior hotel, called *Hotel de Midi* ; here women acted as porters, taking our baggage, and disposing of it in the various rooms allotted to us, this custom appeared general. Montpellier, so long celebrated for its medical school, and its supposed healthy locality, was called *Mons-puellarum*, or the Maids' Mountain, from its being built on the joint estate of two virgins, who devoting themselves to the service of the church, bestowed their property for public purposes. It is built on a rising ground, having a fine view of the surrounding country and the Mediterranean, which is a distance of six miles ; affording also, a view of Certe and the Gulph of Lyons. It contains about 30,000 inhabitants ; formerly, the residence of the Court gave to Montpellier, considerable advantages ; but, at present, it is rather decaying ; the streets are narrow and very irregular, the houses high, and built of dark grey stone. Montpellier is not as ancient as the towns nearer the Spanish frontier. When *Maguelonne*, that strong hold of the Saracens in the lakes, was destroyed by Charlemagne, Montpellier was not built, but those who were driven from *Maguelonne*, occupied the mountain, on which Montpellier now stands, and on which the town was erected. It has sustained several sieges, particularly one, in which Louis the 13th headed his army, to check the religious turbulence of the people, who took up arms in favour of the Reformed Religion, and Montpellier has suffered severely, in

consequence of the numerous disputes and rebellions, on this delicate subject. It is only celebrated for its healthy position, and its medical schools. A very obvious error seems to have gone abroad, in relation to the uncommon salubrity of the air, and the balsamic qualities of the climate; patients, afflicted with pulmonary complaints, have resorted to this place, but have not derived the anticipated benefits. The climate is exceedingly variable, the air in the fall and winter is very sharp and piercing, in summer the weather is hot, the chill of the shade and the heat of the sun, unite to produce no favourable effect on consumptive patients. The elevated situation of Montpellier, open at all points, feeling the effects of the strong north-west wind, and the hot sirocco from the Mediterranean, surrounded by marshes, and a strong miasma rising in the morning, should satisfy persons, that the city is celebrated without cause; the sky, however, is very clear, and at night, the stars appear to twinkle with unusual lustre. A most excellent College of Medicine is established, together with a Botanic Garden; for the study of this science, Montpellier and the surrounding country is peculiarly favourable. This garden was established in the reign of Henry the 4th, at the expense of the Crown, and such was the avidity for this delightful study, that it was no uncommon thing, for professors and students, to set out on a pedestrian excursion to the Pyrenees, to seek for rare plants, fossils, and minerals. It is said to contain 10,000 specimens of plants.

Montpellier carries on an extensive trade in Brandy, Verdigrease, Perfumery, Cordials, Oil, and Corn, and has several manufactories of Cloth, Woollen Stuffs, Leather, and Vitriol. The stores are principally in narrow streets, and are well supplied with articles of taste and fancy. A new, and very elegant Theatre, has been erected, fronting a public square, in which, a select company perform. I heard some fine singing from one of the principal actors. Society is said to be very gay and dissolute, and the character of the inhabitants is represented, generally, in colours not very brilliant, if they are true; and a variety of proverbs, operating always against the Montpelliard, is a satisfactory proof, that they are not very popular among their cotemporaries. There are good Libraries, Reading and Club rooms, together with balls, the amusements of the Opera, &c. &c. Some remains of a recent illu-

mination still existed. In a very narrow street, I perceived a motto over a door, which ran thus :

“ The King ; the sole Judge, the sole Legislator, the sole Defender of his People.”

The Patriot, whose device I was reading, was doubtless one of those emigrants, who, on the restoration of the king, called into action their old impressions, habits, and prejudices, and who, would give to the rising generation, the exploded customs of the darker ages. These political anachronisms will do the state no service.

An aqueduct, in the best order, and built with magnificence and strength, conducts water to the city ; it is about three quarters of a mile in length, and has three rows of arches, built with great taste and neatness ; the city is well supplied with water, and has fountains in every direction. Several beautiful squares and promenades, are to be seen about the city, which is lively and bustling. The dialect of the people is a strange and uncouth *patois*, a mixture of every language spoken in the province, from the time of its original founders ; a compound of Celtic, Gothic, and French, intermixed with Latin, and some Arabic, and constituting a harsh, and dissonant medley of sounds. There is, however, more of Latin, than of any ancient language, and a peculiarity of dialect, is discernible in the various provinces of France, as it is in Spain.

We left Montpellier the next morning, in a return Coach for Marseilles. The distance to Nismes, is about seven leagues, and the country between the two places, is in the highest state of cultivation ; the roads in excellent order, were made of lime stone, which produces a white dust, that covers every thing. On each side, the vine was bent to the earth, with clusters of the rich grape, olive trees with leaves evergreen, were planted in close rows ; villages pleasantly situated ; and peasantry, with looks of tranquillity, gave tokens of prosperity and comfort.

We stopped to dine at *Lunel*, a neat village, containing about 4000 inhabitants, and trading chiefly with Cette, in Brandy, through the medium of a small canal. Three Englishmen, who were travelling in a private carriage, were dining at the same inn, finding fault with every thing, and sending the soup from the table in a pet ;

the landlord was exasperated ; we were better pleased, fared better, and paid less ; “ a little flattery does sometimes well.” About dusk, we arrived at Nismes, and passed by the Amphitheatre, which stood darkly frowning with age, shaded by the fall of night, and alighted at the *Hotel du Luxemburg*.

Hitherto, the antiquities of Spain, as far as my time would permit, have occupied my attention, and the works of former ages, of remote periods, have had more attractions for me, than modern efforts. They are collateral evidences of history ; we see the splendid Temple, the spacious Amphitheatre, the useful and ponderous Aqueduct ; and our imagination, goes back to the periods of their erection ; we admire the strength, the elegance, the neatness, and ornament of these buildings, and the mind then reverts to the genius and disposition of the people, the events occurring in those times, the organization of their governments, the operations of their arms, the advancement of their arts and science, the acme and the decay of their power. Many useful lessons, are the result of these investigations ; we know Hannibal familiarly, when seeing the ruins of Carthage, and the field of Zama ; we see Cato, near the mouldering ruins of his Senate House, at Utica ; and in visiting the remnants of antiquity, which have been spared by the corroding hand of time, and the careful preservation of a civilized community, we see, what enterprise, talent, and perseverance could effect ; we become familiar with the habits and customs of a people, who have long slept with their fathers, and we discover at once, that the world has existed longer than one generation, for that seems to be very much the extent of our care and anxieties ; above all, we see what a love of fame will produce, a judicious, harmless, love of fame ; we see the *maison carrée*, at Nismes, we are delighted at its architecture, and preservation ; can we forget that it was erected in the time of Augustus ? These “ thoughts and remembrances” are produced, by reviewing the remnants of antiquity, wherever they are to be found. To an American, to a citizen of the new world, these “ abstract chronicles of the times,” have double interest ; and I hastened to visit, in company with my intelligent friends, Messrs. Smith and Blodget, the curiosities with which Nismes abounds.

At an early hour the next morning, we bent our steps to the Amphitheatre ; the fury of the revolution, and the internal discord,

which for several years reigned in France, particularly in this place, had not affected these monuments of the arts ; the French people, had carefully preserved them from decay and injury, and the Amphitheatre was surrounded by an iron palisado. The form of this stupendous building, which is still in admirable preservation, is elliptical; its length, from east to west, is 400 English feet, or, according to French measure, sixty seven fathoms, and three feet; the width, is 320 feet, or fifty two fathoms; the circumference, a hundred and ninety fathoms, or 1100 feet; and it is 70 feet in height. From its size, it will readily be conceived, that it was sufficiently ample, for all the sports of the ring; and its magnitude, also conveys a singular proof of the industry and enterprise of a people, who, in a small colony, erected an Amphitheatre, of such beauty and dimensions. It has sixty arches, at equal distances, and four gates, which admit spectators into the Arena. *Monsieur De Boville* contends, that two orders of architecture, are distinctly visible, in this building; the Tuscan, and the Doric; certain it is, that the pillars, caps, and bases, the frieze on the pediment, and other ornaments, betray the greatest taste and neatness; and contrasted with the heavy masses of black and smoky stone, which compose this building, produce a light and airy appearance. It was calculated to contain 17,000 persons. There are several rows of seats, for different grades, that reach to three feet of the attic or summit; the whole is uncovered at the top, as it was customary to have an awning drawn over, which was affixed to wooden pegs, driven in the wall, the holes of which, amounting to 120, and sixteen inches apart, are yet to be seen. This custom of shielding the spectators from the rays of the Sun, was introduced by *Q. Catulus* into Rome. The first row of seats, generally reserved for persons of distinction, was called the *Podium*, and consisted of 32 benches; many of the seats in the first row, are yet entire; those for the inferior order, reaching from the *Podium* to the *Portico*, are destroyed; but sufficient yet remain, to show the order and arrangement. The seats were of stone, of various dimensions and thickness; around the Arena, a palisado must have been erected, reaching to the *Podium*, to preserve the spectators from the attacks of the wild beasts, as a part still exists. The *vomitarias*, or entrances, are all in good order, though obstructed by rubbish; the stair cases leading to the attic, where the soldiers and common people generally sat, were very narrow and dark; from the top, there

is a fine view of the town, and surrounding country. We spent upwards of an hour, in viewing every part of this ancient and elegant building. Various attempts, in the time of the Goths and Vandals, were made to destroy it, but it has resisted the efforts of these barbarians. We could not but revert to the various uses to which Amphitheatres were devoted in the time of the Romans, and likewise to the necessity, at those periods, of amusing the people, and abstracting their attention from important subjects. The *Circensian shows*, to which these buildings were appropriated, consisted of the *Pentathlum*, the *Ludus Trojæ*, the *Saltatio Pyrrhicæ*, the *Chariot Races*, the *Naumachia*, the *Show of Wild Beasts*, and the *Gladiators*. The first amusement, consisted simply of wrestling and other gymnastic exercises. Homer represents, that in pitching the *Quoit*, and *Wrestling*, both *Ajax* and *Ulysses*, were celebrated. The second, the *Ludus Trojæ*, was the military evolutions of boys, belonging to families of distinction, who, in early life, were trained to arms in the Circus; they elected, from among themselves, a captain, to whom the title of *Princeps Juventutis* was given. These boys were well armed and disciplined, their military movements, and the indications of early talent, were objects of public attention and admiration. The *Pyrrhicæ*, does not differ much from the *Ludus Trojæ*, except that it was, in addition to military movements, a lively sport, approximating to dancing; *Apulius* describes a *Pyrrick dance*, by boys and maids, which is the only distinction between the two amusements. The *Chariot Races*, were a most popular sport, in consequence of the opposition and rivalry, it was not uncommon, for a whole town to be divided, in favour of distinct parties of Charioteers; hence, emulation and ambition were excited. There were originally four companies, who were distinguished by the colours of their liveries, as our riders on the race course are, such as the *Prassina*, the *Russatta*, the *Alba*, and the *Veneta*. To these four companies of distinct colours, the Emperor *Domitian*, added two more, the *Golden*, and the *Purple*: his successors, however, repealed the order. *Nero*, used to perform in the Olympick Games, and generally used a Chariot with ten horses; he run camels also in the Circus, and *Heliogabulus* experimented with Elephants. The matches seldom exceeded twenty in one day, and four Chariots in a match, and the heats, extended to seven times round the *Metæ*. The last *Missus*, or match, was made up like the sweep stakes of the present day, by collections from the specta-

tors. The race at first, began by sound of Trumpet, though subsequently, a white handkerchief suspended from the Prætor's seat, was the signal; the victors were crowned with laurels, and other garlands, and the profits of these sports were so considerable, that *Juvenal* in speaking of one of these sportsmen, said, he was rich enough to buy a "Hundred Lawyers." A singular standard of wealth.

"*Hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum, Parte alia Solum russati
pone Lacertæ.* Sat. 7.

The shows of wild beasts, were also a favourite amusement; and animals, the most rare and extraordinary, were procured at a great expense. These amusements, were divided into three parts, first, where men were permitted to chase the animals: Secondly, where they fought with each other: and Thirdly, where they were brought out to fight with a man. Those, whose lot it was to combat with furious animals, were generally condemned for some crime, and were called *Bestiarii*. The *naumachia*, or mock sea-fights, were highly popular, after the first Punic war. The Arena, was supplied with water from aqueducts; barks, and other light vessels, well moored, sailed round the circus, and made a display of their skill in attack and defence. *Claudius*, before the Fucine Lake was drained, gave a splendid *naumachia* consisting of several hundred vessels. The combatants, whose fate of course was doubtful, were remarked to have thus greeted him as they passed, while seated on an elevated position, *Ave Imperator, morituri te salutant*, to which he replied, with his usual apathy and cruel insensibility, *aveti vos*.

Among the most extraordinary shows, denoting a cruel and callous people, we may reckon the *Gladiators*. The origin of this body is very obscure; they may, however, be traced to the early periods of antiquity, when the heathens, in pursuance of their superstitious policy, sacrificed with human blood, and killed persons, to appease the angry ghosts of their ancestors. In the course of time, in order to cover those barbarous customs, they trained men to arms, and, on the day of sacrifice, they compelled them to fight. By degrees, these combats became fashionable. The first fight of *Gladiators*, which we have recorded, was in Rome, which was got up by *M. & D. Brutus* on the death of their father, and during the consulship of *Ap. Claudius*, and *M. Fulvius*. These, were frequently repeated; the priests themselves got them up; for *Seutonius* and

Pliny, speaking of the impious patrons of these cruelties, mention the *Ludi Sacerdotales* and the *Ludi Pontificales*. The Emperors, who were ever on the watch to promote amusements, without reference to morals, seized upon every occasion to gratify the people, with a show of *Gladiators*, and some of the best men, who wore the imperial purple, were deaf to considerations of humanity, and patronised these bloody games. *Julius Caesar* once gave a show, wherein 320 pair fought. *Titus*, the respectable and brave *Titus*, gave an entertainment for one hundred days, in which the *Gladiators* and shows of wild beasts, were not omitted; and *Trajan*, known to be equally humane, brought a thousand pair of *Gladiators* in the field. The number of these barbarians increased to that degree, as to threaten the safety of Rome. These persons were mostly slaves, or unruly servants, sold to the *Lanistæ* or instructors of *Gladiators*; they were divided into several grades, armed in various manners, and fought at different periods of the day; some fought in armour on horseback, others in chariots, and on foot; The *Samnite Gladiators*, carried a broad shield, a belt over their breast, a helmet on their heads, and a short sword. The fights were announced by show-bills, posted against the walls, called *Edicta*. Before the fight began, the *Gladiators* moved in pairs around the *Arena*, and made their obeisance to the audience. They commenced by the sound of trumpet; each had partizans who encouraged them; if any one was wounded, the spectators cried out *hoc habit, he has it*. However strange it may appear, it is no less true, that the conquered person, was either put to death, or his life spared, as the audience directed. The shows of mercy or condemnation were most extraordinary, they were called *Præmere pollicem* and *vertere pollicem*; the sign of favour, was merely clenching the fists together, and elevating the thumbs; but separating the fists, and reversing the order, and holding down, or, as it was called, bending back the thumbs, was a signal to kill the conquered person, so that the life of a conquered *Gladiator*, depended on the mere turn of a thumb.

We could not avoid reverting to such barbarous sports, which civilization has long indignantly banished, while viewing an amphitheatre in good order, and passing round the *Arena*, in which so much blood has been wantonly shed. We spent upwards of an hour in the building, which is worthy the eulogy so generally con-

ferred, on its architecture and ponderous magnificence. There were other antiquities yet to be seen at Nîmes; the most conspicuous, and it may be questioned, whether it was not the finest specimen yet entire in the world, was the *Maison Carree*, or square house, which is an uncouth appellation. This building, is situated in the same street as the amphitheatre, but placed somewhat back, so that in the midst of modern houses, it opens upon the spectators suddenly, and the wonderful contrast, produces a sudden and surprising effect. It is a Temple in the most perfect preservation, of the Corinthian order, small but exceedingly light and beautiful; it has six pillars, on each front, which form a portico, and on each side, nine pillars or pilasters, which adhere to the walls. There are no windows, and the light is admitted only through the door. We could not see the entire of this beautiful temple, as it was filled with arms; over the portico, an inscription, in letters of some metal, have been affixed, but the holes only remain, and Mons. Seguir of Nîmes, who has collected and published many interesting facts, respecting these antiquities, after much labour in tracing the forms and bearings of these punctures, made out the inscription as follows:—

B. CÆSARI AUGUSTI, F. COS. L. CÆSARI AUGUSTI :
F. COS. DESIGNATO, PRINCIPIBUS JUVENTUTIS.

Dedicated to Caius and Lucius the two sons of Augustus.

It is impossible to do ample justice, in describing the lightness, the beauty, the proportion, and harmony of the building; which struck me, as being the most perfect of its kind, and created feelings of regret, that with all the improvements of modern times, we were at this day, incapable of constructing any building, with equal taste and harmony.

The Capitol, at Richmond, in Virginia, has been built after the model of this Temple, which is 117 English feet in length, and 37 in breadth.

From the *Maison Carree*, we visited, what was called the Temple of Diana, but from its construction, on the margin of a copious stream of water, which forms several beautiful fountains and water-courses, we should rather suppose it to be dedicated to some River God, as the Romans, as well as the Carthagenians, were celebrated for erecting temples over springs and fountains. The situation is

romantic, but only half the temple and roof exists, which is heavy, and of the composite order. The arrangements of these fountains, the ornaments of the garden, and other works of modern times, render this place a most agreeable retreat.

The *Tour Magne*, situated on a high and craggy hill, overlooking the town, and having a delightful view of the Mediterranean, and the surrounding country, is a curious shaped antique, and historians cannot agree, as to the purposes to which it was applied ; by some, it was considered a Light-House, by others a Mausoleum ; it is a tower of several stories, of a pyramidal form, it has a few cells in the lower story, and a mishapen room. It may have been used as a light house, to warn mariners off the Gulph of Lyons, though it is at some distance from the sea. The *Pont du Gard*, in the vicinity of Nismes, is an aqueduct, which conveyed water into the city, it has three tiers of arches, is constructed of enormous masses of stone, and is a surprising specimen of industry, taste, and magnificence. There are no inscriptions except A. Æ. A. which may signify,* *Aqueductus Elii Adriani*.

Nismes was founded by the Phocians, who emigrated from Ionia ; it was a distinguished Roman Colony, and had its Consuls, Decemvirs, Ediles, Decurians, Quæstors, and a Senate. *Marcus Agrippus*, son-in-law to *Augustus*, settled a colony there. The modern town, consists of narrow streets, crooked, close, and unhealthy ; there are some good houses, a few beautiful public walks, and the environs of the town, are delightful. The manufactories, which are principally of silk, are very flourishing, a vast majority of the inhabitants are Protestants. It has a theatre, library, cabinet of antiquities, and of natural history.

After a day, passed to great advantage and satisfaction at Nismes, we left it the next morning, and travelled over a hilly country, interspersed with the olive and vine, to *Beaucaire*, the *Belleguadra* of antiquity ; which is about the distance of five leagues, and is situated on the banks of the Rhone. This town, is only celebrated for its fairs, which are held on the 22d of July, and attract merchants from all parts of Europe ; the inhabitants are poor, and amount to about 10,000 ; an ancient castle in ruins, is still to be seen on an eminence near the town. On the south side of the city, the Canal of Languedoc empties into the Rhone, the em-

bankments, to prevent the spring floods, are of hewn stone, and finished with great labour and fidelity ; here are two locks. We crossed the river on a bridge, formed of twenty-seven large flat-bottomed boats ; the river is rapid, “ shelvy and shallow,” the greatest depth, being but six feet. Opposite *Beaucaire*, on the left bank of the Rhone, we passed through *Tarrascon*, a small town, without any thing of note to distinguish it, except a Roman castle ; and proceeded twelve miles further to *St. Remys*, once of considerable note, being in the vicinity of the *Glanum Livii*, a Roman city, once of great importance ; but, at present, only celebrated for two splendid remnants of antiquity ; the one, is a *Triumphal Arch*, the other a *Mausoleum*. The arch is greatly mutilated ; it has fluted columns of the Corinthian order, with figures of male and female slaves, together with winged victories and hexagonal compartments ; the whole executed in a simple and light style of architecture. The mausoleum, is formed of a pedestal, very elegantly ornamented, in basso relievo, with combats of horsemen and foot soldiers ; the frieze is adorned with dragons and serpents, the whole is surmounted with a colonnade, consisting of twelve fluted pillars. It is very neat and in good proportion, and bears the following inscription :—

SEXLMIVLIEICFPARENTIBVSSVIS

translated thus, “ *Sextus, Lucius and Marcus*, sons of *Caius Julieius*, erected this to their parents.” The filial piety, which is demonstrated by such splendid structures, is a striking proof of the refinement of that age.

The road for several miles, continued of that fine lime stone, so frequently found in the South of France, and produced a constant dust, which made its way into the carriage, through every cranny and breach ; it appeared greatly frequented, as we met, in the course of the day, not less than one hundred carts, laden with goods of different kinds, and for various towns and villages ; these carts were drawn with four, sometimes eight horses, placed one before the other, and drawing from two to four tons ; an idea may therefore be formed, of the extent and value of internal trade in France, to facilitate which, so much labour and expense had been bestowed on the roads, as to render them in the finest condition. Stone is very scarce ; there are no fences to mark or divide the property of each man, and no flocks are seen without a keeper ; on each side of the

road, the acacia, sycamore, mulberry, and poplar trees, are planted at equal distances, which give to the long vistas a very agreeable appearance. We saw many women at work in the fields; and on every occasion, some circumstance, indicated the uncommon industry of the female portion of the population, who, to a smiling countenance, an agreeable address, and obliging demeanor, added a neatness in dress, and simplicity of manners, which could not fail to create the most favourable impressions.

We arrived at *Aix*, formerly the capital of Provence, and long the seat of justice; and a residence for Judges and Counsellors. *Aix*, the *Aquæ Sextiæ* of the Romans, was one of the earliest towns settled in Provence; it has now but few remains of antiquity; enough, however, are yet to be seen to prove, that it was a noble city, and, at this day, it bears an air of grandeur and tranquillity; a classic retirement, which qualifies it for the residence of those, who, in academic shades, seek to strengthen the mind, and soften the condition of man; it has many libraries, and museums of natural and artificial curiosities; it is an extremely neat, populous, and handsome city, surrounded by a wall. The principal street, or course, is wide, and planted on each side, with rows of elm and poplar; it is divided into five compartments or avenues, the centre for carriages, and the residue for foot passengers and carts; it is upwards of fifteen hundred feet in length, and is secured by an iron palisade, light and ornamental. In this street are the houses of the most wealthy and respectable inhabitants, together with the hotels and coffee-houses. It has, in the centre, a very curious and ancient fountain of hot water; which, in the time of the Romans, led to baths, the ruins of which, yet remain, and are resorted to by rheumatic patients. There are several Cathedrals, which are justly celebrated; that of *St. Sauveur*, being the most remarkable for its gates of highly and curiously wrought, walnut wood, which is considered a great mechanical curiosity. Altogether, *Aix*, from its order and tranquillity, its refined inhabitants, and delightful situation, must be a desirable residence for strangers; it contains about 22,000 inhabitants, and trades principally in wine, brandy, oil, dried fruits, and has some manufactories of cloth, silk, and velvet.

From *Aix* to *Marseilles*, is about 22 miles; not far from the town, is the spot where *Marius*, fought a decisive battle, against the

Gauls, to commemorate which, a triumphal arch was erected.— The road to Marseilles became mountainous, but was still in good order ; from the summit of one of the hills, we had a fine view of the Mediterranean ; and the city, its clustered houses and spires, were seen in a confused mass. Behind Marseilles, an Amphitheatre of mountains arose, which shut out the sea, excepting from the westward ; at the base of these mountains, and on the plains near the city, an immense number of country houses were erected, without trees or shelter, the fields were studded with these little boxes or summer retreats, which produced a very pleasing effect. We entered this elegant and ancient city, by the principal street, and alighted at the *Cross of Malta*.

At length I was cheered, by the prospect of reaching my place of destination without further delay ; I saw the port, the shipping with various flags, and I cast my eyes over the Mediterranean, to look for the African shore. I was still at a great distance, had still some obstacles to contend with, in these days of war and revolution.

Marseilles, the *Massilia* of antiquity, was founded by the Phocians, from Ionia, upwards of six hundred years before Christ, and was at that period, and has continued since to be, the most flourishing, commercial depot in the Mediterranean. In the time of the Romans, it was not only considered as a valuable sea port, but was renowned for its letters and refined society ; the children of the Romans, being frequently sent there for their education, and its seminaries of learning, were said to be equal at least, to those of Athens and Rhodes. Many Romans of distinction resided at Marseilles, and its high character sorely galled the jealous Carthaginians. *Cicero* styled it *Novæ Galliarum Athenæ*, one of the highest compliments which could be paid to it ; *Livy* hesitated not, to bear testimony to the accomplished manners of the inhabitants ; and *Tacitus*, whose approbation was ever desirable, because it was sincere, spoke of it, as being equal in point of literary acquirements, to the first cities of Greece. *Pythias* and *Euthemenes*, resided here, and were two of the first and boldest navigators ; *Criæneas*, a learned physican, practised at Marseilles ; and from every early event which is known, it is evident, that Marseilles maintained, in ancient times, a very distinguished rank. The Massilians continued long in alliance with the Romans, and would probably have maintained their independence, had they not injudiciously.

espoused the part of Pompey, and awakened the indignation of a powerful people, who crushed their liberty, their virtues, and their very name. The Romans, long held the city and province; and, in the course of time, they passed under the controul of the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, Merovingians, Carlovingians, Burgundian and French Princes. It has little left of its ancient splendour, in Arts and Sciences, but is, nevertheless, one of the most beautiful, gay, and rich cities in France, the most agreeable in point of climate, amusements, living, and economy, for a permanent residence.

Our Hotel was crowded with strangers; the *table d'hôte* surrounded by forty or fifty respectable, well dressed persons. A vast difference was discernible in the quality and character of the dishes, brought on the table in rapid succession, with those to which we had been accustomed in Spain. We were surrounded with plenty, every thing was sumptuous, and the company, though noisy and loquacious, was nevertheless attentive and polite. During the desert, three Savoyards entered the room, two with guitars suspended from their backs, like the Troubadours, and the third chaunted a pastoral air with skill and sweetness, which they accompanied on their instruments; one of these wandering Minstrels, displayed a very curious talent, of producing sounds according to note, by beating his chin with his fists, which he struck, battered, and bruised to the right and left, until it was fairly blue, and like a jelly, but played in this manner, part of the battle of Prague, in a correct and harmonious style; it was a most singular display of musical talent. After the performance, one of the parties handed about a small wicker basket, and collected a few francs, for their services, and departed.

As there were several Americans residing at Marseilles, to some of whom we had letters, we lost no time in procuring lodgings, in which we fortunately succeeded, by obtaining apartments at Madam Carl's in *Rue Paradis*, a very obliging and amiable lady, whose house was filled with Americans. Being comfortably situated among our fellow citizens, and enjoying that reciprocity of feeling and sentiment, which ever exists among compatriots, I lost no time in visiting every thing, rare and curious in this celebrated place. It is impossible to view Marseilles without admiration; society, in many instances, renders a dull city agreeable to a stranger; but here,

society, amusements, an active and bustling people, extensive commerce, good and cheap living, wide and airy streets, a soft and pleasant climate, and superb mansions, unite to render the city attractive, and the time of a visitor most agreeably diversified.

Marseilles is divided into old and new town, the ancient part of the city, is narrow, crooked, and dull, the modern part is directly the reverse. The port is formed of a basin, surrounded by a noble quay, on which ranges of store-houses are built, and where the principal depot of commerce is centered. The entrance to this basin from the sea, is so narrow, that two large vessels can scarcely come in at once, and is secured by logs and chains, which are locked at night. The basin can contain 1000 vessels with ease, and has probably 18 feet water, so that they are sheltered from every danger. Nothing is more lively, than the picture which this place presents, crowded with shipping, the flags and streamers of various nations, floating to the wind, and commingling with each other; swarms of ferry boats, or gondolas, with silk and worsted awnings, conveying passengers and merchants, to and from the vessels; cargoes landing on the broad stone quay; Turks and Spaniards, Greeks, Moors, Genoese, English, Americans, Catalans, Italians, and Germans, all with hurried gait, attending to business; stores of various kinds, fruit-sellers, cook-shops, sailors, and custom house-officers, render this place, the most gay and animated in the city. To the north, a small low building is erected for a health office, persons in quarantine, come under the grated windows in their boats, and make known their wants. Marseilles suffered so much by the plague, about the year 1720, that every precaution is taken. Vessels from the Levant, perform a quarantine of 40 days, at a small island near the city, and passengers are admitted into an excellent Lazaretto, of several miles in circumference, which is walled. Some good paintings, particularly one representing the plague, are to be seen in the health-office. On the same side of the Quay, the Exchange is erected, a very elegant building in a light and uniform style of architecture; the exterior was formerly decorated with some splendid specimens of sculpture, which have been removed from political causes. The merchants are admitted at half-past four o'clock, by the ringing of a bell, and the business ceases at half-past five; formerly, they were drummed in and out of the Exchange; no insolvent debtor is admitted, un-

less he shall have honourably liquidated with his creditors, consequently, all such, transact business out of doors. There are several promenades or public squares, *Castalleone*, *St. Ferreol*, and *de la Comedie*, are the principal, together with the *Cannibierre*, a spacious and elegant street, containing the most fashionable stores.—The houses are high, airy, and neatly finished, and the side walks afford a comfort and convenience, not found in every other city in France. Water is continually flowing through the streets, from a variety of fountains, which, from their elevation, contribute to keep the city cool, clear, and healthy. The annual fair at Marseilles, had commenced three days, which not only attracted a variety of strangers, but enticed all the inhabitants from their homes ; it was to continue fourteen days. On each side of the *Course*, and *Cannabierre*, booths were erected, which were filled with every species of manufactures, toys, hardware, books, jewelry, &c. arranged with taste and order, and brilliantly illuminated at night.—The *beau monde* were walking from booth to booth, and purchasing presents for each other. Amusements of course, formed a prominent attraction for the *Bourgoise*. Puppet shows, inimitably droll, and always attended by an English audience ; flying horses and carriages, filled with peasants ; slight of hand performers, eo and roly-poly tables, and quack doctors, mounted on mules, with girls playing on violins, and vending nostrums ; all was bustle and gaiety, life and animation. The markets are held in the open street ; those for fruit and flowers, being the most agreeable and attractive, are in the *Rue de Rome*. The article of flowers in Marseilles, constitutes an important branch of trade, and it is incredible, to see the value, placed upon a present of a boquet, when presented with delicacy ; the flower-women, simply, yet neatly dressed, some with broad hats, gracefully placed on one side of their heads, which is covered with a cap, white as snow, sit generally in rows, with tables before them, on which pinks, violets, narcissus, roses, myrtle, and sweet scented shrubs, are neatly arranged ; and on Sunday, each person, however humble, purchases a boquet for a few sous, and presents it to his wife, friend, or sweetheart, with compliments, which they alone, seemed to excel in, and to which they give a most elegant and refined turn ; a small flower, presented thus to a French lady, is more esteemed, than a more substantial gift would be.

There are two or three Theatres in Marseilles, the grand one, is really arranged upon a most extensive plan, the interior is very elegant and commodious, the scenery correct, and the costume splendid. I saw some good ballets and operas performed.— There are balls, concerts, clubs, converzationes, and private parties, which are very agreeable, and open to respectable strangers. Although considerable business is transacted with the United States, there were not many American houses; Messrs. Hughes, Fettyplace and Rogers, very respectable and obliging men, transact a considerable portion of the mercantile concerns. Mr. Andrew C. Belknap, of Boston, who is connected with the French house, of Rabaud, Freres & Co., a very correct and respectable house and Montgomery, Fitch & Co. relations of our consul at Alicant, have a full share of mercantile confidence. Our old consul, Cathalan, transacts little or no business from the United States, and the Americans are heartily tired of having a French American to preside over their concerns.

I lost no time in taking advice, in the selection of such articles as would be acceptable to his Highness the Bey of Tunis, and his officers, and which present, according to custom, I was specially ordered to make. A letter had been received by Mr. Hughes, from a respectable American at Tunis, who, on learning that a change had taken place in that consulate, enjoined it on the new officer, not to leave France without a present, as considerable expectation had been excited, on the arrival of the new consul; and without that present, I should not be received. I was instructed to appropriate \$4000 to this object, and I accordingly selected such articles, consisting of cloth, cambric, brocades, watches, jewels, and arms, as nearly amounted to that sum. A difficulty however arose, that I was not prepared for, and which deranged all my plans, and created new and unexpected obstacles. I could not negotiate a bill of exchange on the government of the United States; commerce having been suspended, in consequence of the war, the funds belonging to American houses, having been withdrawn from Marseilles, and occasional reverses of our arms on land, had weakened confidence. I applied to all the American houses in vain, they could give me no assistance. I solicited aid from my colleague, Mr. Cathalan, he turned a deaf ear; money, he said, could only be obtained at Paris, where we had a Minister and a Banker, and the alter-

native was left me of going there, or remaining in Marseilles, until the conclusion of the war, and the revival of public confidence, as the government had established no credits for their officers in the Mediterranean, but had given them merely, a power to draw for sums required for the public service. Mr. Cathalan gave me a certificate, that Bills could not be negotiated at any other place than Paris, and I was reduced to the necessity of going there, or remaining at expense in Marseilles, for an indefinite period, and to the manifest injury of the public service.

The restoration of the Bourbons at this period, was celebrated with every demonstration of joy; how sincere these gay and good people were in their declarations, is not for me to say; amusements and hilarity were the order of the day, and the cause, in all probability, did not occupy much of their attention. The *Count de Artois*, brother of Louis the 18th, was on the road to Marseilles, to visit that city for the first time since the Revolution, and great preparations were made to receive him. Placards were affixed to the walls, announcing his movements, and the precise moment when he was expected. The military dressed in their best attire, were under arms, and lined the principal streets leading to the gate of Aix; the windows were crowded with ladies, elegantly attired, and white flags, with the golden *fleur de lis*, ornamented each door and arcade; the peasants from the surrounding country, were in the city in immense numbers, the men and women with broad hats, and having an air of pastoral neatness, marched in clusters, to the sound of the pipe and tabor, playing *Vive Henry Quarto*, and *Charmante Gabrielle*. The *Bourgoise*, were all abroad, and the whole city appeared in motion.

The arrival of the Bourbon Prince, was announced by salvos of artillery, and he entered Marseilles on horseback, surrounded by his Aides, Field-Marsbals, Officers of his Staff, and the Municipal Authorities. He appeared to be about 60 years of age, thin, but having a fresh and hearty appearance; shouts of *Vive Monsieur*, and *Vive le Roi*, resounded from all sides, the ladies shook their white handkerchiefs, and the Count bowed to the right and left, with infinite grace and attention: he looked like an old and accomplished French Chevalier, returning from a crusade in the time of St. Louis; it was altogether a new and interesting sight, and evinced the difference of the times, for had he entered Marseilles twenty years

age, his reception would have been less gracious ; these things, however, are forgotten, and it is right that they should be so.

In the evening, the Count and his suite went to the Opera, which was excessively crowded, and they performed some national pieces. An event occurred, during the evening, which proved, that with all the loyalty of the Marseillois, they had an eye to the main chance. Prior to the Revolution, Marseilles was a free port, and it was expected, that on the restoration of the King, the former commercial regulations would be revived. The good people, however, considered the opportunity a fair one, to make known their wishes, and jog the memory of the King ; accordingly, a song was sung between the acts, and each verse ended with the words *la franchise* ; it was much, and deservedly applauded for its delicacy and address, and on the conclusion, there fell from the dome of the Theatre, thousands of the song printed on fine paper, the effect was wonderful, and the Count de Artois rose from his seat, and assured the audience, that the King his Brother, had declared, that Marseilles should be a free port, and that the decree was making out. This popular piece of information, as may be conceived, was rapturously applauded, and the audience retired, much gratified, at the profitable result of their evening's entertainment.

The next day, the Count received visits from the Municipality, Foreign Consuls, and other Public Functionaries, and Mr. Cathalan, our *Fellow-Citizen* and Consul, dressed in full uniform, with the order of the *fleur de lis*, gracefully suspended from his button-hole, with republican simplicity, was, of course, among the number. He forgot to notify me of his intended visit ; the Danish Consul, more polite than my colleague, was good enough to accompany me. In our turn we were presented to his Highness, who was extremely sociable, had something to say to each of us, and some general observations on the benefits of commerce ; he put some question to Mr. Cathalan, that I did not distinctly hear, I heard him however, reply as follows : “ *Cependant Monseigneur je suis Consul Americaine, je suis une Francaise.*” Notwithstanding, my Lord, that I am American Consul, I am a Frenchman. A poor compliment to poor America ; ever insulted by foreigners in the public service, and ever permitted to be so with impunity. This reminded me of Mr. Simpson, our Consul at Tangiers, who, when

asked by a British officer at his table, what part of the United States he was born in, indignantly replied, "I'd have you to know Sir, that I was not born in America, I was born in Europe." This, to be sure, was said after dinner, and might have been excusable ; it only reminds us of the necessity of appointing *Citizens* to office : I have no objection to adopted citizens holding office, but I would rather see them in power at home, than abroad. Mr. Simpson wrote me a letter once, *condoling* with me on account of my *Religion*, he might as well condole with a man for being born with one eye. I answered his letter in a good humour, and may have laughed at him ; I believe he remonstrated to the government against my appointment, and the clerk filed his letter, instead of putting it in the fire. However, I was not angry with him, no man can have liberal sentiments, after living twenty years among Turks.

After our visit to the Count de Artois, the *Corps Diplomatique*, agreed to wait upon Marshal Massena, one of Bonaparte's Princes of merit, not of blood. He received us with as much grace, as an old soldier could do, who knew little about ceremony, and had risen from the ranks ; he was a hard featured man, sun burnt and wrinkled, and looked like a rough, serviceable, fighting corporal. He said, that the change in political affairs was a very happy one, and no doubt would produce good effects to the country, and we left him, with a favourable impression of his character.

In the evening, a ball was given at the Theatre, to the Count de Artois, by the city, which was very splendid. Festoons of silk and artificial flowers, were suspended around the boxes, the stage thrown open, the pit covered, and a temporary throne erected for the distinguished visitor. All the beauty and fashion in Marseilles, were assembled on the occasion, and the company did not retire before day break.

An event occurred during the evening, which forcibly illustrated, the want of sincerity in professions, on the part of the French.—An officer, not of high rank, who spoke the English language perfectly well, politely gave me information, in relation to the character and occupations of the company, together with the names of the ladies and gentlemen ; "Ah ! Sir," said he, "you see no women here like those in London, no such brilliant complexions, such bewitching softness ; nine years, I had the pleasure of being in that country, and the change is new and tedious to me." I ventured to

contradict the officer, by paying a just and complimentary tribute to the French ladies, not only as to person, but mind and manners ; suspecting from these sentiments, that I was not an Englishman, he hastily asked, " Pray Sir, do you not command the British Frigate now in this port ?" " No Sir, I am an American, and in the American service ;" " I thought so sir, I had a suspicion that you were not English, I missed the awkward, crooked, seafaring walk. I know them well Sir, nine years I was a prisoner among them, and shamefully was I treated, and then their women, after all, what big feet they have got, and how awkward they dress." I left this sincere and candid gentleman, for fear that I should hear the Englishwomen, as much abused, as they had been praised within a few minutes. Such traits of hypocrisy, I believe are rare, yet withal those gracious and most obliging manners of the French, and which certainly constitute them an elegant people, it is to be lamented, that they are not more sincere in their declarations.

The next morning, I left Marseilles for Paris, in a cabriolet, in order to obtain funds, and in hopes of establishing a permanent credit, for public supplies in the Barbary States. I preferred this mode of travelling, as being the most expeditious, though somewhat more costly. We changed horses every six or eight miles, and the postillion, with his cumbrous and ancient boots, his short jacket, hair clubbed and powdered, and loud sounding whip, was the most conspicuous personage I met on the road. I passed through Aix, and several small villages pleasantly situated, and approached Avignon, built on the borders of the rapid Rhone, and situated on a romantic plain, filled with tall and melancholy poplars ; the town is surrounded by a wall, surmounted by battlements, and having several gates ; a bridge, almost in ruins, is thrown across the river ; an air of tranquillity prevails, which is only interrupted by the sullen murmur of the waters, coursing over ledges of rocks. No town in France is situated so beautifully, and withal so picturesque.

Avignon, the *Avenio* of antiquity, or the *Avenio Cavarum* spoken of by Strabo, was one of the most flourishing colonies, of Narbonese Gaul. It was held by the Saracens and Franks ; and in 1206 was a Republic ; it became the property of Naples, and was finally sold, by the Countess Jane, Queen of Naples, to Pope Clement the 6th for 80,000 florins. This Queen, had murdered her first

husband, and the Pope threw in an absolution, with the purchase money, which eventually, it was whispered, his Holiness forgot to pay. This transfer, however, formed a claim to Avignon, which the Popes maintained, although disputed by several kings, until 1790, when the revolution cancelled the obligation, and annexed the town to France. On the restoration of Louis the 18th, the present Pope claimed it, but the power of the Church, was not sufficiently potent, to recover this ancient fief.

Avignon, though pleasantly situated, is subjected to great inconvenience, in consequence of its variable climate, and the rude blasts to which it is exposed, from the various currents of air, rushing from the mountains, which form a tunnel, from the Alpine range of St. Bernard, and other elevations, which, together with the chilling air of the dark-rolling Rhone, and the Durance, render the cold in winter very severe. The wall surrounding the town, was built more for ornament than use ; and is not capable of defending the city ; at its base, once stood a Temple erected to Diana, which was lightly and beautifully constructed of marble ; being, however, used for a powder magazine in 1650, it was shattered to pieces by lightning ; a statue of Hercules was found there, having the following inscription on its base :

HERCULI AVENNICO
DEO POTENTI PROTECTORI
C. TUSCILIUS
PRO CIVIUM VENNIIORUM
SUCCEPTO VOTO
T. M. D. D.

The streets of Avignon are narrow and crooked, the pavements, rough and unpleasant for walking, it is not lighted, and its gloomy appearance, is not relieved by a number of Cathedrals, with venerable spires, together with Monasteries, and the Pontifical Palace, built by Benedict XII. In one of the Chapels, the most gothic and gloomy, called *Notre Dame de Chapelet*, Pope John XXIII. lies buried, in a splendid mausoleum. This Pontiff, was rather clever, though amazingly superstitious and fond of money ; he wrote a Medical Thesis. In 1759, his body was removed from its former sepulchre, where it had remained 425 years, it measured only five feet, his hands were covered with white gloves, he wore the golden

ring, with the sapphire on his finger, and was splendidly dressed in purple silk, studded with pearls.

I could not be long in Avignon, without thinking of Petrarch, and calling to mind, the scenes so inimitably described, by this romantic lover, this charming poet, this refined, candid, and liberal man. I hastened to the Church of the Cordeliers, to view the spot, where the amiable Laura was buried. She fell a victim to the plague in 1348, and in 1533; the gallant Francis the 1st, caused her tomb to be opened, where the body was found entire, with a couplet of verses enclosed in a leaden box, by Petrarch. She lies under a plain slab, the name almost erased, with no decorations to mark the tomb of her, who was so great an ornament in life, and whose beauty inspired the most enraptured strains of poetry. The Church is in ruins, and is the property of a private gentleman, who is willing to sell the ground, where not only Laura lies buried, but Follard the commentator of Polybius, and the brave and inimitable *de Crillon*. Is the age of romantic gallantry quite expired in France, that no one exists, to raise a monument to her, whose praise still rings in our ears, in harmonious measure? I left the spot where so much interest is excited, to repair to the Church of the Nuns of St. Clare, where Petrarch first saw Laura. She was the daughter of Andibut de Noves, of a distinguished family, and was married when young, by her mother, to Hughes de Sade. It was on Sunday the 6th of April, 1327, in the Easter week, that Petrarch first saw Laura, attending matins at six o'clock in the morning. "She was dressed," said he, "in green, and her robe was embroidered with violets. Her features, air and gait, announced something more than mortal, her figure was an assemblage of delicate graces; her eyes beamed with tenderness, and her eye-brows were black as ebony. Her golden ringlets, interwoven by the fingers of love, played upon shoulders whiter than snow. Her neck was a model of elegant proportion, and her complexion animated by those native tints which art in vain attempts to imitate. When she opened her mouth, you perceived the beauty of pearls, and the sweetness of the rose; the mildness of her look, the modesty of her deportment, the melting accents of her voice, baffle the powers of description; gaiety and gentleness breathed around her, and these so pure and happily tempered, as to enchain every beholder, in sentiments of virtue, for Laura was chaste as the dew drop of the morn."

There is in this description, much tenderness and delicacy, not unmixed with the glowing descriptions of an ardent and romantic lover.

Avignon, for several centuries, has suffered severely from the plague, and from the character of its rulers, society, in former periods, acquired a gloomy and bigotted shade. It has several hospitals, a medical society, an extensive library and museum, and many antiquities; they have several good manufactories, and the population, which exceeds 23,000, are, generally speaking, very comfortable. The females are represented as very beautiful and engaging. A large community of Jews reside in Avignon, enjoying an equality of rights, and a considerable portion of the trade; they have Synagogues, which I had not time to visit, and are generally respected.

I passed the Rhone, and pursued my way towards *Orange*, which celebrated town lay at a distance of three posts and a half from Avignon, passing through *Sorgue*, the summer residence of Pope Urban V. and the *Orge* of Pliny. I made a short stage, in order to view the antiquities of this place, and lost no time, in examining every thing worthy of note, which the Romans had left to commemorate their deeds in arms. Orange, was formerly called *Ourasio*, or *Auratio Cavarum*, in consequence of the *Cavari*, who occupied that district of Narbonese Gaul. It was also called *Auratio Secundariorum*, Julius Cæsar, having assigned this place, as head quarters of the veterans of the second legion. I passed through the town, narrow, dirty, and gloomy, inhabited principally by poor people, to view the triumphal arch, erected in the centre of the great post road, and still in excellent preservation. It is sixty feet in height, and sixty in breadth, having three arches, the centre one larger than the two others; fluted pillars of the Corinthian order, are affixed against each side of the arches, and the attic, is surmounted with an elegant, and light cornice. This is ornamented with figures, in bass relief, representing combats, together with trophies; on each side of the pediment, marine subjects are carved, above the frieze, is represented the combat of Gladiators, together with shields, bucklers, anchors, figures of captives, ovations, &c. &c. the whole is a splendid monument of architecture and embellishment. It is generally supposed, that this arch was dedicated to Marius; several inscriptions, though mutilated, yet exist on shields

and bucklers, such as : *Dodvacus, Isvijus, Mario, Sacrover, Dacvno, Vdellus*. These doubtless, were the names of warriors distinguished in the annals of their country, and thus handed down with this triumphal arch, for the admiration of posterity. It has been clumsily repaired in several places, and some loyal Bourbon has planted the white flag on its summit. Near the town on the side of a mountain, are the remains of a Theatre, the walls partly exist, upwards of 100 feet high, in admirable preservation, and 300 in length ; part of the seats, which were semicircular, and cut out of the mountain, are yet to be seen ; independent of these antiquities, there are the ruins of an amphitheatre, aqueducts, baths, a strong castle, and several other curiosities, which sufficiently indicate the importance of this place in former times. I passed three hours among these splendid relics, and then continued my journey. The roads were in fine order, and the country cheerful and cultivated, the farm houses were neat, and the people polite and intelligent. In order to use expedition, I travelled from day break until eight o'clock at night, taking a scanty meal in my cabriolet, and when arrived at a post house, at the termination of my day's journey, I never failed to find a neat room, a clean and comfortable bed, an excellent supper, with good wine, cheap fare, and civil treatment.

A few posts from Orange, we came to *Pierrelatte*, and crossed the river, to view the remains of a Temple, dedicated to *Mithra*, at St. Andeol, it is cut in the rock, from which a copious spring of water issues ; and is simply a monument four feet in height, and six in breadth, in the centre, is a figure employed in a sacrifice, the whole bears the following inscription :

DS INVI MITHRAE MAX
MANNI F VIS MON ET
T MERSEVS MEM D. S. PP.

“ To the God Sun, Invincible Mithris, Maximus son of Mannus, commanded by a vision, and T. Merseus Meminus, have erected this monument at their own expense.”

Here were two superstitious, extravagant men, squandering their money to confirm their dreams. If it had not however been for the superstition of the ancients, added to their love of fame and the arts, we should not at this day, have any thing to admire appertaining to their time.

St. Andeol the martyr, suffered in this place, during the reign of Septimius Severus, and consequently, in the early period of christianity. In the church, a very light and neatly ornamented sarcophagus is raised, bearing the following inscription, and very ridiculously supposed to be the tomb of *St. Andeol*.

D. M.

TIB. IVLI. VALERIAN

Q. ANN. V. M. VII. D. VI.

IVLIVS. CRANTOR ET

TERENTA VALERIA

FILIO DVLCISSIMO.

“Erected by Julius Crantor and Terentia Valeria, to the memory of their dear son, Tiberius Julius Valerianus, who died, aged 5 years, 7 months, and 6 days.” There is something peculiar in this monument of parental affection, not only in relation to the inscription, but to the period of its erection.

From *St. Andeol*, we continued our journey, and passed through *Donzere*, *Veviers*, and *Rochemaure*, all flourishing towns, the skirts of which, were thickly planted with vine and olive, and the fields ploughed and prepared for planting. I perceived, that there were more women employed than men, some wore very small black wool hats, scarcely larger than the palm of the hand, a miniature hat, curiously placed on the forehead, which was covered with a gauze or linen cap; the head, thus ornamented, presented a curious appearance indeed; in other provinces, the women wore broad brimmed hats, like the Spanish *Sombreroes*; some had steeple caps stiffly starched, others wore close eared caps, trimmed with lace, and wooden shoes, it appeared to me, that fashions varied every twenty miles. We reached *Montelimart*, the *Mortilium Adhemari* of antiquity. This is a small neat and industrious town, surrounded by a wall, and generally garrisoned; beneath which, the rivers *Robiaun* and *Jabron* unite, the inhabitants manufacture silk and morocco, and amount to 6000, a majority of which are Protestants.

Six posts further, we arrived at *Valence*, passing through the villages of *Lauriol* and *Paillaise*; the roads improved, and, for a considerable distance, were lined with walnut trees. The vineyards were enclosed with good hedges, and some with a low stone wall, the orchards and fields of grain, were not fenced in.

Valence, the ancient *Valentia*, and the capital of the *Segalanni*, or *Civitas Valentinorum*, is situated on a fertile plain, surrounded with a regular wall and embattlements; the town is partly built on the declivity of a hill, and the streets are narrow and mean, and there are few, if any, elegant buildings. It is, however, a considerable manufacturing town, particularly in woollens, calicoes, and paper. In one of the Cathedrals, Pope Pius VI. lies buried, he died there in 1799; and a military school has also been established; the population does not exceed 8000; there is a pleasant walk on the borders of the Rhone, and, altogether, it is a flourishing provincial town.

We left Valence, and shortly crossed the river Isere, the *Isara* of the ancients, in a boat with a rope and pully, by which we landed on the opposite shore. The *Isere* is a rapid stream, which rises in the Alps, and unites with the Rhone about a league above Valence. The country became mountainous, and the views were picturesque and highly diversified.

We reached Tain, the *Tegna* of the Romans, in which are the ruins of an old castle. The wines in this part of Dauphiny, are very celebrated and cheap; opposite this village, is the small and pleasant town of *Tournon*, built on the declivity of a hill, and defended by a fort.

St. Valeir, is the next post town, where there is a manufactory of porcelain, and some silk mills, some antiquities are also to be seen here; at a distance of five posts from this village, and through a country highly cultivated and thickly settled, we arrived at *Vienne*. This town, situated on the banks of the Rhone and Jere, was very celebrated, as being the capital of the *Allobrogus*, a bold and courageous people, who, after a long resistance to the encroachments of the Roman power, fell at length under their controul, in the time of Julius Cæsar. It was then called *Vienna Allobrogum*, and was erected into a colony, in the reign of Tiberius. *Claudius* delivered his celebrated speech in the Roman Senate, to obtain for the inhabitants of this city, and of Lyons, the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. *Tacitus* has preserved this manly and patriotic speech.

The town is built of grey stone, of which there is plenty in the neighbourhood.

In the environs of Vienne, there still exists a very singular and grand pyramid, supposed to be the tomb of some celebrated person in the time of the Romans, it is seventy-two feet high, and has a flight of steps at each side, and a column at each angle, with arches to pass under; the pyramid is a noble structure, but has been injured during the revolution.

Vienne has upwards of 12,000 inhabitants, and carries on flourishing manufactories of cloth, paper, and glass; it has a library, a museum, with a variety of antiquities, inscriptions, &c. and an academy of arts. A venerable Cathedral, with several mausoleums, and columns of fine *verd antique* marble, still exist in good preservation. It is a bustling and healthy town, pleasantly situated, and in a fertile and rich province.

The *Maitre de Post*, asked me, to permit a relation of his to ride in my cabriolet to the next post. She was a pretty brunette, and very loquacious. I asked her how she liked the change in political affairs; "Oh! vastly, said she, we are growing rich, there is so much travelling; and you English don't care for money, you pay so well; formerly a Frenchman only gave us three or four sous for our attendance, and we were satisfied; but now, I get a franc from each traveller: I like the English amazingly." I did not doubt the little *fille de chambre*; money, is of great benefit to the English nation, rather of more service than to any other people; a Frenchman's shilling, with a few well turned compliments, passes current equally with an Englishman's silent half crown.

From Vienne to Lyons, we passed through a hilly country, leaving the banks of the Rhone; fields of corn and vineyards, are planted on these hills, and between ledges of rocks, each spot seemed cultivated and of value; we at length crossed a heavy stone bridge, of twenty arches, over the Rhone, which here unites with the Soane, and alighted at a splendid Hotel, called *Hotel de Europe*.—Here I determined to rest for a day; the antiquity of Lyons, its position, extent, and manufactories, being of sufficient importance to warrant the delay.

Lyons was built 40 years before the birth of Christ, or 711 of the year of Rome; and although history is somewhat at variance as to its founder, there is a general concurrence, in attributing the erection of this city to *Lucius Minutius Plancus*, a very expe-

rienced officer, commanding a legion under Cæsar ; it was originally called *Lugdunum*, then *Lugden*, a Celtic phrase, alluding, as it is supposed, to the junction of the two rivers. The Romans would have originally established themselves at Vienne, but the fierce *Allobroges* drove them further up, and from the eligible position of Lyons, and its copious streams, they were induced to take up their abode on this spot, and build a city. Those legions and cohorts, which this colony furnished to the Roman army, carried a lion as a device on their shield ; and during the government of *Mark Antony*, he had some medals struck, with his own head on one side, and on the reverse a lion with the motto *Lugdun*. The ancient history of this city, would alone fill a volume, it was a favourite residence of several of the Emperors ; and, in the reign of *Claudius Cæsar*, it was nearly destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt and adorned by *Nero*, and enlarged by *Adrian*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. A superb Temple was erected in honor of Augustus, by the 60 provinces of Gaul, and in this temple, did *Caligula* institute a Forum, which attracted the most celebrated persons, from every country. When the city embraced Christianity, the Emperor *Severus* showered upon it the “ vials of his wrath,” nineteen thousand of the inhabitants were massacred. On the fall of the Romans, the Dukes of Burgundy governed, it became finally the property of the kings of France, and, in the 8th century, the fierce Saracens laid it nearly in ruins.

Of all the sufferings which this city has witnessed, since its foundation, none equalled the fury and horrors of the revolution of 1793. In those periods of blood and slaughter, when freedom became licentiousness, and liberty a curse, when man wished to be free, without being capable of appreciating its blessings, this city, which resisted the Convention, became a prey to the fury of its violent and enthusiastic members ; and they passed a decree to raze Lyons with the earth, and erect a column with an inscription on the ruins. They besieged it with an army, threw shells into the town, and erected the Guillotine, which covered the square with blood. The rich manufactories and merchants, were banished or murdered, and the city has not since recovered from the shock.

I lost no time in visiting the antiquities, with which this city abounds. The ruins of the Temple dedicated to Augustus, are in the Church of *Enay*, or *Ainay*, from *Athenæum*, and consist only of four marble columns, which support the modern dome ; a curious mosaic

has been lately discovered near the spot ; not far from the Church, is an ancient aqueduct, some of the reservoirs are entire ; there are also vestiges of a Theatre, and in a large building near the Hotel de Ville, where the Exchange is kept, I saw several fragments of Vases, and other antiquities affixed to the wall, found in digging cellars. In the *Hotel de Ville*, a very beautiful mansion, and erected in a light and faithful style of architecture, are deposited the bronze tablets, upon which is engraved, the speech of the Emperor *Claudius*, in favour of Lyons. *Tacitus*, who has introduced this harangue, in the eleventh book of his annals, has been charged with retouching it, and giving it a force and vigour, for which *Claudius* was not distinguished. They are very curious, and affixed to the walls under the vestibule of the building. Here are also to be seen, two colossal statues, representing the Rhone and the Soane.

Among the antiquities, which the enterprising researches of the inhabitants of Lyons, had brought to light, was a beautiful and highly ornamented Altar, which was discovered in 1705, full of curious inscriptions, representing the bull offerings. It has three fronts, the one containing the bull's head, ornamented with fillets, the second a head of a ram, the third is the knife, or sword of sacrifice, over which, is the following inscription :

CVIVS MESONYCTICVM
FACTVM EST. V. ID DEC

Which means, that the Mesonyctium took place, of the ides of the 5th of December. The Mesonyctium may have meant, the eve of the feast, as it was not annually celebrated. The inscription on the principal side, having the bull's head, is as follows, and is subjoined, to show the importance of these sacrifices, in barbarous ages :

TAVRO BOLIO MATRIS D. M. I. D.
Quod Factum est ex Imperio Matris D.

DEVN

Pro Salute Imperatoris CAES T. AELI
Hadriani Antonini AVC PII. PP.

Liberorum que Eivs

Et status Colonie LVGDVN

L. AEMILIVS CARPVS JIIII J VIR AVG ITEM

DENDROPHORVS
 VORON FECIT.
 VIRES EXCEPIT ET A VATICANO TRANS
 TVLET ARA ET BVCRANEVM
 SVO INPENDIO CONSACRAVIT
 SACERDOTE
 Q SAMMIO SECVNDO AB XV VIRIS
 OCCABO ET CORONA EXORNATO
 CVI SANCTISSIMVS ORDO LVGDVNENS
 PERPETVITATEM SACERDOTI DECREVIT
 APPP. ANNIO ATILO BRADVA T CLOD VIBIO
 VARO COS
 L. D. D. D.

Translated thus: "For the bull offering of the grandmother of the gods, Idenius, Drudyminius, which was made by order of the divine mother of the Gods, for the preservation of the Emperor Cæsar, Titus, Ælius, Adrian, Antoninus the Pious, as much a father to this country, as of his own children and of the state of the colony of Lyons. Lucius Emilius, Carpus, Sextumvir, Augustal, and Dendrophorus, have preserved the sexual organs of the bull, have conveyed them to the Vatican, and have consecrated the Altar, and the bucranium at their own expense, under the priesthood of Quintus Sammius Secundus, ornamented by the Quindecemvirs, with an accabo, (*bracelets*) and a crown, to which the most holy order of Lyons, decreed perpetual priesthood, under the Consulate of Appius Annius Atilius Bradua, and of Titus Clodius Vibius Varus, the place was granted by a decree of the Decurions."

In viewing this curious specimen of antiquity, one cannot avoid remarking, that amidst the sound sense, uncommon bravery, and talents, which distinguished the Romans, it is a most extraordinary circumstance, that their religion alone, should have been an epitome of every thing dark and ignorant, that with all their admitted abilities, they should, on this subject, have been so strangely barbarous and uncouth.

Lyons has a most extensive and valuable public library, which is deposited in a superb building facing the Rhone, and consists of near 120,000 volumes, 800 of which are said to be in manuscript. It suffered severely during the revolution, many valuable books

were destroyed, and coins and medals, the most rare and curious, were sold by the ignorant and melted down. I spent near two hours, in this silent retreat; the gallery is spacious, and the arrangements neat and convenient. There is also a museum, containing some good paintings, and many curiosities.

This city abounds with charitable institutions, hospitals, and monasteries, which unlike those in Spain, are characterised, by repeated acts of kindness and benevolence; indeed, I could not but observe while in France, that without an ostentatious display of religion, they practised every principle, and were charitable in thought, and in action, affectionate and mild, conciliating and polite.

Lyons is the most tranquil city of its size in Europe, there is but little bustle in the day, and at nine o'clock at night, few persons are stirring; the streets seem desolate; the houses are high and gloomy, and the old carriages creaking on their hinges, together with the general gloom, seem to give an air of age, and of times long since past. This tranquillity, however, may be accounted for, by the occupation of a large portion of the inhabitants, which exceed 100,000, who are connected with the various manufactories, of silk, gauze, crape, calicoes, hosiery, paper, &c. &c. with which this city abounds. Lyons, may be considered the Manchester of France; the most rich, and beautiful damasks and brocades, being made in that city, which is filled with counting houses and stores.

There is a large and elegant Theatre, and I saw the opera of *Joconde* performed in the best manner, the music, decorations, and talent, being superior to any thing, I had yet seen of the kind. I could not but observe, that a number of the audience, were old gentlemen, with powdered hair and gold headed canes, and who, by their comfortable and respectable appearance, I took to be proprietors of the numerous manufactories.

Among the public buildings, the Cathedral is an object of curiosity, it is a fine gothic building, and was constructed in the reigns of Philip Augustus, and St. Louis; there is a very curious clock, with mechanical figures, surmounted by a cock, which crows and claps his wings at the hour. There are other public buildings worthy of observation, and a beautiful promenade, called *Place de belle cour*.

Lyons has produced some very distinguished characters, particularly the learned, able, and charitable, *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who wrote nine books, containing curious descriptions of the manners, habits, and costume of the Gauls. *Dr. Spon*, celebrated for his travels in Greece and Dalmatia; the *Abbe Terrasson*, the elegant revisor of *Dioderus Siculus*; *Menestier* the learned Jesuit; *Stella* the painter; *Chazelles* the philosopher, &c. &c.

Lyons, to a stranger, is not attractive, it requires time to form acquaintance, without which, every city is dull and monotonous; living is high, but it is, nevertheless, very good.

I left the city the next day, and took the road to Paris by Burgundy, as there is another route, through Troyes and Dijon. It was before day-break, the lamps of the cabriolet were lit, and for a considerable distance, we ascended high and rugged mountains. When day dawned, the view was beautiful and picturesque.—Country houses, chateaus, blooming vineyards, fertile vallies, orchards, and gardens, surrounded us on every side.

We passed through several flourishing villages, until we reached *Villafranche*, a large town, the market was held on each side of the street; beef, mutton, and game, together with eggs, bread, and vegetables, were in abundance. I particularly observed the butter, fresh and moulded into prints, covered with broad vine leaves, was selling by peasant women, dressed with neatness, and wearing high caps stiffly starched, and edged with fine lace. After having passed through a fertile and flourishing country, in the course of the day, and over roads in the best condition, we reached *Macon* towards evening, which is the capital of Burgundy. There are some good inns in the place, but I preferred putting up at one near the post office, kept by a widow lady. The evening was raw and chilling, and the good hostess, soon kindled a fire, and spread an excellent fare on the table, together with a bottle of choice Burgundy, the cost of all which was but a trifle. A person who wishes to husband his resources, and to live well at the same time, cannot do better, than to reside in one of these provincial towns, which are generally populous and interesting, and where excellent board and lodging can be had, in private and respectable families, for about 140 dollars per annum.

Macon has about 10,000 inhabitants, and trades principally in wine; it is situated on the Soane, over which is a good stone bridge, of thirteen arches; there are also, some remains of Roman aqueducts and Theatres to be seen. The ancient name of this city, was *Matiscoe*.

The next town is *St. Albans*, which is small and flourishing, and one and a half posts further, we reach *Tournous*, the *Tinurtium* of antiquity, which is a pleasant place, situated on the Soane, and trades also in wine. The most important place, next to Macon, is *Chalons Sur Soane*, a large and flourishing town, built in a fertile and beautiful valley, near which is the mouth of the central canal, which unites the *Soane* and the *Loire*, and constitutes altogether, the importance of that place. This canal, extends with cuts and intersections of rivers, upwards of 200 miles, and was completed in 1792, after a labour of only nine years.

Chalons, the *Cabillonum* of antiquity, was a kind of river port, in the time of the Romans, and they carried on a very profitable commerce, particularly in grain, they established good military roads to every part of Gaul, from this city, and it was spoken of in terms of respect and consideration, by Strabo and Cæsar. It has some public buildings, very agreeable walks, a small Theatre, and a good Library, together with an hospital, distinguished for its order and arrangement, and I should consider it a very agreeable residence for a stranger.

Passing over the central canal at *St. Leger*, and through a flourishing, country, we reached *Autun*, celebrated on many accounts, but particularly for being the See, of which Talleyrand was once Bishop.

Autun was originally the capital of the *Edui*, the most influential of the Celtic People, and who were induced to espouse the cause of Rome, in consequence of the management of Cæsar, and as late as 1789, the Citizens of Rome and Autun, enjoyed a reciprocity of municipal rights. It is built at the foot of a hill, near several high mountains, which are called by abbreviations after their original names, *Mons Jovis*, *Mons Druidarum*, and *Mons Cenis*, which has a small lake on the top. This was the famous city of *Bibracte*, and an inscription was found, proving that religious worship was paid to that Goddess.

DIAE BIBRACTI
 P. CAPRIL, PECATUS
 JIIIII J VIVE AUGUSTA
 V. S. L. M.

Autun had a number of curiosities, which the people felt no disposition to preserve ; it contains about 10,000 inhabitants ; the streets are narrow, crooked, and ill-paved ; there are no elegant buildings, but some curious Cathedrals and a Castle. There are manufactories of cotton, velvets, and glue, and near the town are several valuable glass-houses. One of the gates of the city is much admired, as a splendid specimen of ancient sculpture. It is built like a Triumphal Arch, with three entrances or passages, surmounted by a beautiful entablature, which is covered by several arcades. Small fluted pillars of the Corinthian order, separate these arcades ; the moulding is covered with ornaments, executed with spirit and delicacy, and the whole workmanship is at once light and elegant.

We passed through several villages of little note, until we reached *Sautnier*, a town containing about 2500 inhabitants, which has some manufactories, and is celebrated for its trout, and other fish.

Avallon, a very beautiful city, of about 5000 inhabitants, is remarked for being the seat of gambling for that province ; it is situated on a small river, surrounded with beautiful views, and having very elegant walks ; the streets are broad, and the houses neat ; it has altogether a gay appearance, and trades in corn, wine, and cattle. I was informed, that there was a Roman causeway near the town, which I had not time to visit. Pursuing my journey, with as much expedition, as heavy horses, and indifferent postillions would permit, we passed through *Vermanton*, celebrated only, for being long the residence of *Buffon*, the naturalist and philosopher ; an octagon tower ; still exists, in his pleasant garden, where he made his observations on the air. At length we arrived at *Auxerre*, which place, I stopped to examine for a few hours ; it was the *Antisidorum* of antiquity, and is celebrated for the various battles and sieges it has sustained, under the Celts, Romans, Saracens, Normans, and English. It is built on the river *Yonne*, and is a flourishing city, containing upwards of 10,000 inhabitants, and several manufactories. It has a library, judiciously selected ; together with a Museum of antiquities ; a small Theatre ; an Episco-

pal Palace, and several venerable Cathedrals, one of which contains the bodies of several saints, and is considered a holy and sacred retreat, so much so, that an inscription over the door, forbids entrance in shoes, "*Ne appropinques huc ; soloe calceamentum de pedibustues.*" The remains of a Roman wall, are yet to be seen in one of the streets.

The country around Auxerre, is highly cultivated, and presents a most agreeable prospect, several villages at short distances from each other, keep up a lively intercourse. The Yonne pursues its way, filled with rafts and barges ; its borders present a picture of cultivation, of meadows with cattle, small farms and cottages, skirted with vallies and lawns, which keep the prospect varied and interesting ; the peasants are industrious, and all having the appearance of comfort and prosperity ; which, from the situation of France, as depicted by modern writers, I had no reason to expect. The Yonne, near Auxerre, is studded with little Islands, which are covered with wind-mills.

We reached *Villeneuve Sur Yonne*, passing through *Joigny*, a neat town, with a stone bridge and quay. These two places, have each a population of about 4000 ; and trade principally in wine. In the latter town, a fine range of stone barracks have been erected.

The next post brought us to *Sens*, a very ancient town, and once the capital of the Gaulic provinces ; it is built at the junction of the rivers *Yonne* and *Vanne*, and is surrounded by a wall and ramparts of Roman construction. It has one or two broad and pleasant streets, the rest are narrow and irregular, and contains upwards of 10,000 inhabitants, some Manufactories, Baths, and a Theatre.—There is also a Library, and a Museum, belonging to the College ; and it has two or three very ancient and curious Cathedrals, containing a number of crypts, and antique pillars and sculpture.—Nothing can possibly be more agreeable to a stranger of leisure and means, as before observed, than a residence in one of these provincial towns, where he can pass in one hour, and at any point, to another town nearly as populous, and where the scenes can be daily varied, and a whole tract of country, rendered familiar and pleasant, and this at very little cost. The country around *Sens* is beautiful, and celebrated for botanical plants.

From this place, I had but thirteen posts to Paris, passing through a number of villages and flourishing hamlets, to *Melun* a large town, situated on the borders of the Seine, and containing about 7000 inhabitants, and filled with manufactories of glass, calicoes, thread, cotton, and leather.

From *Melun*, it is but four posts to Paris, and I could perceive the vicinity of a flourishing capital, in the numerous carriages, diligences, wagons, carts, horse and footmen, which crowded the roads; at length we approached the celebrated city, I saw its spires, and the large dome of the hospital of Invalids. It is situated on a plain, bounded by Montmartre, the only rising ground overlooking the city.

We entered the gate of *Reuilly*, through the Fauxbourg *San Antoine*, and passed through the long streets, with high stone houses, filled with inhabitants. I requested the postillion, to stop at a good hotel, in the centre of Paris, he nodded his head and said *bien*, but continued at a jog trot, for upwards of an hour, at length he turned into a court yard at the Hotel *Richilieu*; the landlord lost no time in assuring me, that his house was full, and turned me off. We applied at the Hotel *Seruti*, with no better effect, and to two others equally respectable, the rooms of which, however, were filled with *Milor Anglaise*, at length I obtained two small apartments in the fourth story of the Hotel *Bourbon*, *Reu de la Paix*, the master of which, charged me the moderate sum of five Napoleons per week, without any thing to eat or drink, and which I had to take, or lodge in the streets, the first night of my visit at Paris. The English, on the conclusion of peace, had flocked in such numbers to this city, urged by motives of curiosity, and had brought with them so much money for contingent expenses, that every thing in Paris, had taken a sudden rise of 100 per cent, and the poor plebeians of other countries, suffered from the extravagance of the English patricians. My visit, however, was on business, and business of such importance, as left me no time to view, properly, this splendid city.

I called next day, and delivered my letters to Mr. Warden, formerly Consul at Paris, and Mr. Luc Callaghan, a banker, and a most excellent and worthy man; from him I learnt, that Bills of Exchange on the United States, could not be negotiated, except it

was done by Mr. Ottinger, the banker of the United States, on whom I also called with Mr. Warden, but with no better success; the situation of the country, the absolute prostration of credit, in consequence of the war, and the suspension of intercourse, rendered it impossible to obtain money. I paid a visit to Mr. Crawford, the American minister, and, in the discharge of my duty, I addressed a note to him on the subject, to which he did not reply; I wrote to Mr. Gallatin, at Ghent, but did not hear from him. Having, therefore, exhausted every source, in attempts to provide for the public exigences, I had no alternative left, but to return to Marseilles, and there await the conclusion of the war, or some favourable event. This inconvenience and expense, to which officers are subjected, could with ease be prevented, by the government giving them a credit on London or Paris, on which places bills can always be negotiated, and it is due to the ample credit, and honourable character of the United States, that their officers abroad, should be sufficiently protected in their pecuniary concerns, and not compelled to go a begging, in the name, and by the authority of the government, for money required for the public service.

Failing in my attempts, I availed myself of the opportunity, to see the most remarkable curiosities in this interesting city, which, in every respect, is justly considered superior to London. I was not long in deciding where to bend my steps; the Louvre, the glory of France, and of the world, had not yet been despoiled of its riches and attractions, by the rude hand of conquering powers, who had united to war against the arts: the Louvre was the first place I had long determined to visit, and I lost no time in executing this determination.

Passing down the street, in which my Hotel was situated, I stopped to view the celebrated Triumphal Pillar, erected in the *Place Vendôme*, by order of Napoleon Bonaparte, to commemorate his numerous victories. It is cased with brass, made out of cannon captured from the enemy, and is surrounded by figures in bass relief, in imitation of the column of Trajan, and which represents the remarkable events of his campaigns. It is executed with great taste, vigour, and delicacy, and is 133 feet in height, and 12 in diameter; a spiral staircase within, leads to the top, which is surrounded with an iron railing, and on which, once rested a figure of Bonaparte. This had been removed, as "offensive to the sight,"

and irritable to the nerves of those, who had gained nothing from his victories. It cost originally \$300,000.

I soon reached the Louvre, it was not yet opened, a centinel was on guard, and I seated myself on the stone steps, and awaited the period when visitors were admitted. The Louvre is a term, which is difficult to be traced. In the time of Philip Augustus, it was a fortress, and in it, a tower was erected, celebrated in history, as a prison for state criminals, and also as a residence for monarchs. Manuel, emperor of Constantinople ; Sigismund, emperor of Germany ; and Charles the Fifth, having resided there. This fortress, however, was destroyed in 1528. The Palace of the Louvre, was commenced by Francis the 1st, who did not live to complete it ; and Charles the 9th, "cruel, bloody, and barbarous," first resided there. Louis the 13th, Henry 2d, and 3d, and Louis the 14th, added some splendid improvements to this beautiful building. It is now Quadrangular ; the Collonade, executed in a masterly manner, and which is the admiration of Europe, is 525 feet in length, of the Corinthian order, and divided into two peristyles ; the principal gate is adorned with eight double columns, surmounted by a pediment ; the whole building is ornamented with pillars, pilasters, caps, bases, allegorical figures and devices, the most light, rich, and beautiful, and not surpassed by any building in Europe. It cost, in improvements alone, upwards of four millions of dollars. About ten o'clock the doors opened, and the crowd rushed in ; no pay was required to see the most splendid collection in the world ; the French, with a generous and genuine love of the arts, invited alike, the poor and rich, to partake freely of the mental banquet. I knew the position of the rooms, and their contents, though I had never before visited them, and therefore ascended a noble stair-case with expedition, turned to the right, in a short room, filled with paintings, which I did not stop to examine, but turned again to the right at the extremity, which led to the long gallery, in which the paintings of the old masters were kept. I was the first in the gallery, and hurried to the end of it, an old keeper with a blue coat, and a cocked hat, trimmed with silver lace, was stationed there ; he pointed to the *Transfiguration*, by Raphael, the greatest picture in the world, and I examined at leisure, the bold style, the fine, soft, and masterly touches of this illustrious artist. I could conceive nothing more beautiful,

more full, heightened, and effective ; and although no Connoisseur, and nothing more than an humble lover of the arts, I could not be insensible to such extraordinary productions. His *Holy Family*, hung near it, equally as beautiful, in design and execution ; and in this apartment, I occupied two hours, in looking over the works and *Chef-D'œuvres*, of Raphael, Rubens, Guido, Titian, Domenichino, Correggio, Salvator Rosa, Annibal Carracci, Rembrandt, Paul Veronese, Murillo, Vandycke, Tintoret, Sneyders, &c. &c. which, altogether, form a most wonderful, and invaluable collection. In one of the compartments, several very excellent, and highly finished specimens of the present school of France are deposited ; and the room which contains the great originals is upwards of 1300 feet long. There are fifteen apartments on the ground floor, devoted to different species of ancient and modern sculpture. I had full leisure to examine the statue of the *Venus de Medicis*, so long, so universally, and so justly admired. It is a most incredible effort, of the imagination and the chisel, and produces a combination of feelings, such as are difficult to define, and yet more difficult to describe. The *Apollo Belvidere*, the *Laocoon*, the *Torso of Hercules*, the fragments of sculpture from Greece, Rome, and Egypt, and the variety of rare specimens of antiquity, call to mind the wonders of former ages ; the gradation of the arts is before us, and the genius of *Praxiteles* and *Phidias* seems to flourish anew. A voyage across the Atlantic, to visit the Louvre alone, is justifiable and commendable ; but, it has been shorn of all its honours, and the nations of Europe combined, have reclaimed those works of art, which they singly lost, in contests with the Emperor. Italy, Austria, and Prussia, have got their own ; they can point to the *Venus*, the *Apollo*, and the *Transfiguration* ; but they cannot wash out the stains of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena. The English, who had nothing to lose, were generally active, in restoring each specimen to its former owner ; although the capitulation of Paris, guaranteed the integrity of the Louvre, and its other possessions, but the great Lord, as he is called, gratified a little propensity, to mortify and to triumph, which hereafter he may regret, if he has not regretted it already.

The next curiosity in rotation was the Palace Royal. This is literally the world in minirature, or, like a *camera obscura*, which reflects men, manners, customs, habits, amusements, allurements, and

vices, where joy and grief, pleasure and pain, folly and fashion, have full scope ; where every thing that can please the eye, gratify the appetite, delight the sense, can be found abundantly. This palace was commenced by Cardinal Richelieu in 1629, and was the residency of the Duke of Orleans. It is built of free-stone, and the shape is a parallelogram, having a garden in the centre, not well attended to ; the principal curiosity, however, is the arcades, under which, are contained the most splendid shops of jewellery, and in fact every article, that can possibly be imagined, and such is the convenience of this place, in the way of living and amusements, that it is not necessary to go out of it for any thing. It is frequented by all classes of society, and is the most gay, and animated place in Paris ; probably there is nothing in the world to compare to it. I have seen a book of two hundred pages, describing the palace royal alone, from which its magnitude, character, and resources, can be easily imagined. In the evening, I visited the grand opera, situated in Rue Richelieu ; the exterior is plain, but the internal part, is spacious and splendidly embellished. The opera was the *Caravan de Cairo*, the fine overture to which, was performed by a numerous band combining the most wonderful talent. It is impossible to do justice in description to the scenery, decorations, dresses, music, and dancing, in this opera ; the utmost efforts of fancy and imagination, would fall short of reality ; the scenes appeared like enchantment, and the *corps de ballet*, like sylphs and fairies.

The French live on amusements, they constitute with them, the most important feature in their domestic policy. A refined taste for music, an attachment to dancing, a love of arts and accomplishments, cause every avenue of gaiety and pleasure, to be freely opened. Paris abounds in places of amusement, so varied in their character, as to suit every taste, and so cheap in their attainment, as to be accessible to every condition. It is not like London, full of bustle and confusion, intent on business, and disregarding pleasure, it is the reverse ; pleasure in Paris is never obtruded upon by business, the city is not as large, nor as populous as London, and every article procured, is much cheaper. Gardens and Promenades, together with other sources of attraction, are numerous, and occupy every leisure moment of the stranger and the resident. My visit, however, was on business ; it was an accidental one, which afforded me no time to explore the many avenues to

pleasure ; I could cast but a hasty glance on each, and make a reflection equally hasty. In the Palace Royal, the coffee-houses, form an agreeable feature, in the amusements of the place ; it is a lounge, a place of rendezvous, where coffee, ices, and liquors are to be had, together with the public journals. The lady of the house, frequently handsome and covered with jewels, sits majestically behind the counter, cracking sugar, and receiving the pay and the compliments, of her customers. *Restaurateurs*, or eating houses, are in abundance ; some splendidly embellished, and affording to the epicure the most choice delicacies. Paris abounds in Palaces and elegant hotels, built in the most costly style, and with light and simple architecture. Its literary character, ranks deservedly high ; the Institute of France, has produced men of science and learning, who do honour to the age and to the country. The *Jardin de Plants*, containing the most rare and valuable specimens, relating to Botany, together with its Museum of natural curiosities, and library are objects of great curiosity and utility. The Hotel de Luxembourg, in which are deposited some of the *chef d'œuvres* of Rubens ; the Hotel des Invalids, where the brave veteran, is liberally and bountifully fostered and protected by his country ; the *Polytechnic School*, where the youth are trained to arms, and a military education, keeps up the spirit and talent of the army ; the Royal Library, containing an inestimable treasure, in 350,000 printed volumes, and 70,000 volumes of manuscripts, opened freely to the inspection of all. The Chamber of Deputies, where parliamentary usage is unknown, and talent rarely exhibited ; the Museum of French monuments, preserving in regular gradations, the statuary of France, from early periods ; the Catecombs, where millions of skeletons, are curiously arranged, as a *memento mori*, to the gay and unthinking ; the Manufactures of the Gobelins or tapestry, the china, and other establishments of rare articles ; all these were visited with expedition. I took no notes, for I had no time for observation ; I was compelled to return to Marseilles, and, as it were, to tear myself from a place, where the attractions were dangerous to duties. There were many Americans at Paris, and many Englishmen, who were content to pass for Americans, as the French did not exhibit their usual courtesy, to these good people. It was amusing, to see an awkward rolling Englishman, with a broad, honest, roast-beef countenance, wearing a large golden eagle on his hat, to serve as a passport, to convenience, comfort and respect. I was much pleased

with Mr. Warden, who was deservedly esteemed at Paris, for his correct and uncommon industry ; some unpleasant, and very probably, unfair representations, deprived him of his office ; I could not ascertain the grounds of his removal, but he was unceremoniously dismissed. Through him I became acquainted with Bishop Gregoire, the most amiable of men, whose philanthropy and labours, prove the value of religion, when its purposes are judiciously applied ; he felt sincere pleasure at my appointment, because it was a practical evidence, of the liberality of our institutions, and when these were violated in the manner of my removal, his complaints were no less sincere and powerful. I also spent an agreeable evening, with Miss Helen Maria Williams, so celebrated in the literary world ; she is a lady of very amiable and engaging manners.

After a short visit to this elegant city, highly gratified at what I had seen, and yet having seen but little, I returned to Marseilles, disappointed in my object, and with a dull and unpromising prospect, of reaching my place of destination. Fortune, however, did not desert me. Mr. Belknap, of Boston, finding that my stay would be protracted, to an indefinite and expensive period, used every exertion to obtain funds for me, in which, after great efforts, he succeeded, having first guaranteed their repayment by the government. I immediately purchased the articles, necessary for the consular present, and fortunately a Swedish brig of war, with a store ship in company bound to Tunis, arrived at Marseilles, and I procured a passage.

From the period of my entrance into France, until the moment when I was prepared to leave it, no circumstance occurred, which created an unfavourable impression, or served to lower the respect, which is generally entertained, towards this country and its inhabitants. The French, animated, accomplished, and polite, only want sincerity ; they say every thing pleasing and kind to a stranger, without feeling all that they would express ; they render no important services to each other ; they exhibit no proofs of extensive confidence like the English ; but a stranger, who wants nothing but civility, whose only object is kind treatment, hospitality, and respect, if he comports himself well, cannot fail to obtain them in France. The enthusiasm of character, so universally conceded to the French, deprives them of the political benefits, which result from dispassionate reflection, and temperate measures.

They do not want sense ; they are a shrewd, comprehensive, and an uncommonly quick people, brave to excess, and daring in battle, prompt in following up victories, but never depressed by defeat ; their elastic spirits, buoy them up in every vicissitude, and they strangely reconcile themselves to every political reverse. The government is highly respectable, and the king considered as a private gentleman, is very amiable, and is an excellent scholar. The religion of the country, is the same as in Spain, but all other denominations are fully tolerated. We do not see the Priests swarming in every direction, as in Spain ; the Catholic religion in France, as in America, is mild and tolerant, excesses have been committed, but they have been promptly remedied.

The peasantry in France, are an excellent portion of the inhabitants, simple, unostentatious, generous, and sincere, and the women, generally, without being beautiful, are extremely engaging.

Living, in Marseilles, is not dear, a single gentleman, can obtain excellent board and lodging, in a respectable private family ; for \$200 per annum ; and in the environs of this truly beautiful city, a family of seven persons, can have a house and garden, and live exceedingly well, at an expense of \$1500 per annum, and have their children taught the French language also. For persons of moderate resources, and large families in America, a few years residence in France, would not only benefit children, in their manners and education, but would tend to introduce a system of economy ; for those, in large cities, who expend \$5000 per annum, can live in France, equally well for \$2000.

I took leave of my worthy and generous friends in Marseilles, all of whom had interested themselves in my behalf ; and went on board the Swedish ship *Forsoken*, Captain Heish, laden with Cannon, Timber, and Balls, as a present for his highness the Bey, in conformity with the stipulations of their treaty.

PART IV.

TUNIS.

AFTER a detention of several days, and a difficulty of getting out of the basin, in consequence of a strong north west wind, we took advantage of a calm night, and towed the ship out, and came to, under the island of Pomague, a small rock, near which, vessels from the Levant, ride in quarantine. The brig of war, had on board, Mr. Agrel, Swedish minister to the Barbary States, and his niece ; she was a strong vessel, with an uncommon heavy battery, and manned with hearty looking seamen. The captain of our ship was a young man, who spoke good English, he was prudent and attentive. The fifth day, a strong breeze sprung up from the north, and towards evening, we discerned the mountains on the African shore, the captain carried sail, in order to approach it, and make out what cape it was, the brig of war threw out signals, ordering him to heave to, he paid no attention to them, but kept on, and we soon left our convoy, and closed in with the land, and got into smooth water. It was *Cape Bon*, the ancient promontory of Mercury, which we had discovered ; the cape first made by *Scipio Africanus*, on his voyage to Carthage from Sicily ; it was an ominous point. Night came on, and the wind lulled ; in the morning, we glided smoothly towards a high and distant cape, on which a small look-out tower was erected, surrounded by fragments of loose stone, a small Turkish village was near it, but no trees and cultivation, this was Carthage :

“ *Devictæ Carthaginis.*”

We weathered the cape, and came into the noble bay of Tunis ; on our left, a fine tract of country lay covered with verdure, behind which, the high and curious shaped mountains of Haman Leef, reared their rugged heads, capped with snows ; on our right, was the strong fortress of the Goletta built by Charles the fifth, together with the canal, and the Tunisian navy ; in front, the bay, filled with large and small vessels, at anchor ; carrying the eye further, we discovered the lake, and several miles beyond it, a confused mass of lime-stone houses, surmounted with a few minarets, were crowded against a rising ground, and indistinctly visible ; this was Tunis. A sandal put off from the shore, containing three Turks ; one sat at the stern, with a long pipe in his mouth smoking leisurely ; the boat approached the vessel, the Turk at the helm, called out *Pilota* ; the captain asked if he should anchor, he nodded assent, and we came to, about three hundred yards from the shore. The captain prepared his boat, and I accompanied him to the Goletta, dispatched a note to Mr. Coxe, *Charge des Affaires*, to apprise him of my arrival, and then returned to the ship, to await permission from the Bey to land. The Turkish guard, and some sailors were on the mole, when I stepped ashore ; they looked at my uniform ; *Consula Americano*, said they, and then continued to smoke with gravity and indifference. Towards evening, the *Charge des Affaires* came along side, and informed me, that the Bey had sent down the necessary permission for me to land, and that the carriage of the French consul, would be at the Goletta the next morning. He stated that I had been long expected, and omitted not to inquire, whether I had brought the customary present. Satisfied on this head, he returned to the shore. I enjoyed a refreshing breeze on deck ; nothing could equal the beautiful scene, by which I was surrounded. The fields were not cultivated, but were green, the country was open, and small clusters of the olive and carob tree, relieved the prospect ; the eye wandered over an amphitheatre of more than sixty miles ; the flags of the shipping in the bay, waved gently to the breeze, the setting sun, cast a soft and golden shade on the surrounding objects ; the flagmingoes, *Phenicopters*, with burnished plumes, crossed the lake, making towards the mountains, all was tranquil and harmony ; where were the gallant spirits, which once gave life and animation to these scenes ? where was the city, and its triple walls, whose scite was exposed to my view ; gone—centuries have passed since their destruction, yet the fields

looked green and smiling, the sun yet shone on the hills of Carthage, and on the spot where once stood the Temple of Esculapius, the Palace of Dido, and the Citadel of Byrsa.

The next morning, I landed under a salute from the ship ; I could have had one from the batteries, but a disgraceful article, had crept into our treaty, by which we subjected ourselves, to pay a keg of gun-powder, for every gun fired in compliment ; consequently, no interchange of such civilities, ever took place. In a small building near the mole, sat the captain of the port, to whom I was presented, he ordered a cup of coffee to be made, of which I sipped a little, not having as yet, sufficient confidence in their honesty, to drink with them perfectly at ease. We set off in a cabriolet, drawn by two mules, and driven by a Moorish servant, passed over a sandy beach, and through a grove of olive trees, and having made the complete circuit of the lake, we arrived under the walls and near the principal gate, where a market was kept, and which was crowded with fruits, provisions, camels, and boricoes. The flags, from all the Consulates were displayed, which gave animation to the scene, and I made a very decent entry, into the city, distinguished as being once the residence of Hannibal, Scipio, and Charles the Fifth. The gate opened in a small square, with decent houses, the terraces of which, were filled with spectators ; to the right, was the British Consulate ; to the left, the Swedish ; facing the gate, the Spanish, Danish, and Dutch Consulates, were situated in a row. From some of the windows, I was examined through telescopes, in order to ascertain, what kind of an animal, had broke loose, from the aborigines in America, and had arrived among the descendants of Syphax and Masanissa.—Turning down a dark and narrow street, with houses on each side, built of mud and plaster, looking like prisons, I arrived at length, and took possession of my house, which was large and commodious, and built in the Spanish fashion, with an *entresol*, floors, and hall, paved with brick and marble, tolerably well furnished.

At length, after all my delays, perils, and inconveniences, I had arrived at my place of destination, and Mr. Coxe informed me, that our public relations, continued on the best footing. The drogamen from the different Consuls, called to offer their congratulations, and the next day, the ceremony of receiving the whole *Corps Diplomatique*, together with the merchants and brokers of the place, occupied my time and attention.

A janizary from the Palace of Bardo, informed me, that the Bey was unwell, and could not receive me, and I had leisure to examine the archives of the Consulate, and familiarize myself, with the state and character of our relations, and, at the same time, to take a review of the government, its sovereigns, and revolutions.

I shall say nothing at present, on the ancient history of this country, nor the early periods, when Christianity first prevailed; for, however interesting they may be, to the inquiring mind, it is the Saracen and Moorish history, which is an object of the first curiosity, as it is less known, and has ever had a limited circulation.

After the destruction of Carthage, and the subsequent occupation of its scite by the fierce Vandals, the Arabs, in 647, as we are credibly informed, first visited Africa. They were ordered to occupy that country, by the Caliph Athmon, and they first established themselves at *Kairauan*, under a simple government, much in the form of a commonwealth. This form of government, was not sufficiently strong for men of untutored minds and dark habits, and intestine commotions, kept that country, in a state of war and revolution, for several centuries. The strength and capacity of the Arab power in Spain, prevented that portion of Africa, from being wrested from them. After the fatal battle of Tolosa, the regencies of Algiers, Tunis, Fez, and Tripoli, were established, but continued ever agitated, by the events in Spain; and, until the Moors were finally expelled from that country, no fixed, or powerful government, existed in any part of Barbary.—Tunis, in one of these commotions, was separated from the other regencies, formed into a kingdom, and *Abou Ferez*, a man of talents and bravery, was proclaimed king, and finally, after repeated successes, in his attacks on Morocco, he announced himself, as Sultan of Barbary. It was in 1270, while this country was powerfully defended, that Saint Louis of France, made his rash and inefficient attack from Carthage, and lost his life from the plague, introduced purposely, by the Moors into his camp. For near three centuries after this attack, the Tunisian sovereigns, maintained their thrones with safety, and prosecuted, in conjunction with the dynasties of Algiers and Morocco, a determined and cruel war against the Christians, thousands of whom, were held in bondage. At length, Charles the Fifth made an attack on that city, which he conquered and held for some time, after having built the

fortress of Gaspa, and the strong castle, called the Goletta ; he was afterwards defeated, in battle, near Algiers. On the death of Charles, all the possessions in Africa, held by Philip the 2d, were wrested from him, by the Sultan, Selim the 2d, who destroyed the dynasty, and placed the kingdom under his controul, to be governed by Pachas of his appointment. This arrangement was so powerfully resisted, that permission was finally given to the Mussulmen, to elect their Deys from among themselves. The Arabs and Moors, however, found the power of the Algerines, which was always exerted in the choice of these Deys, so extremely oppressive, that after having checked the will of the Sultan, they united to put down the influence of Algiers. It was not, however, until about the year 1684, that the Tunisians succeeded, in choosing their own Beys.* The revolution was effected by the zeal and activity of Mahmed, and Ali Beys, two brothers, who took up arms against the Turkish soldiery, and drove into exile, the reigning Dey Mahmed Ichelchy. The conquerors assembled the Divan and the Shikmedién or municipal chief of Tunis, and proposed an hereditary monarchy, which finally was determined upon, and Mahmed, the chief of the revolution, was chosen the first sovereign. This sudden change, however, did not last long ; the people, once plunged in the chaos and confusion of a revolution, felt disposed to revive those turbulent feelings among the Turks which had only been smothered ; they were aware that it would be difficult to reconcile themselves to the new order of things—and, accordingly, a party of the disaffected succeeded in promoting a rupture with Algiers. An army was assembled on the frontier at a place called Kest, which was commanded by the Dey of Algiers and the Bey of Constantine, who succeeded, after a vigorous attack, in obtaining possession of Tunis. The Bey fled to the mountains, and the Dey named as his successor a Turk called Mahmed Ben Chouques. The Algerine forces had no sooner, retired from the kingdom, when Mahmed Bey having succeeded in raising the Arabs in the mountains, came down and retook the city, and drove his rival back to Algiers. The Algerines were not disposed to incur the expense of another campaign,

* In 1816, I threw a few notes together, under the title of, "Sketches of the Barbary States," which were published in the Democratic Press, in Philadelphia, and in several other Gazettes ; as they were taken from my Journal, I have to recapitulate some of them.

merely for the purpose of placing Ben Chouques once more on the throne. They permitted Mahmed Bey to hold his possessions quietly, which he did until he died. The regular succession then became confirmed, and he was tranquilly succeeded by his brother Ramadan Bey. The new Chief was represented to be a man of uncommon mildness, and as his administration wanted energy and vigour, he was deposed and put to death by his nephew Murat Bey, whose despotism and cruelty were marked by so many aggravating circumstances as to arouse the fury of the people, and he, in his turn, was assassinated by Ibrahim Cheriff, who was elected Bey in his place : but Ibrahim being taken prisoner in battle by the Algerines, the soldiers elected a new chief called Hassen Ben Ali. This man was descended from a Greek, and from him the Beys of Tunis, until the present time, are descended in regular succession.

Hassan Ben Ali, though popular with the people, still felt his throne was insecure, while Ibrahim, his predecessor, was alive at Algiers : he, therefore, adopted every means to obtain possession of his person, which, for a time, were defeated by Ibrahim. At length he caused it to be circulated, that he only held his power in trust for Ibrahim Cheriff, which he would surrender, the moment he returned. Ibrahim, deceived at length with these promises, ventured to return with a small suite to a town near the ruins of Utica, called Porto Farina, where, on the instant of his arrival, his head was struck off by Hassan Ben Ali. All claims to the throne then ceased, and Ben Ali reigned tranquilly. He had no children by his several wives, and therefore, had nominated as his successor, his nephew Ali Bey, who commanded his forces and was represented as a brave and active chief.

An event however, occurred some time after, which destroyed the hopes of Ali Bey in obtaining possession of the throne. A cruiser had captured a Genoese vessel, on board of which, was a woman of uncommon beauty, and, in conformity to the established custom, she was placed in the Harem, and the Bey conceived a great attachment for her—and, on renouncing her faith and embracing the Mahometan religion he married her. By this wife he had a son whom he called Mahmed Bey, and afterwards two others, who were named Mahmoud and Ali Bey. Being now provided with an heir, he announced to his nephew, Ali Bey, the necessity of revoking the declaration which guaranteed to him the possession of the

throne, but as a proof of his confidence and affection, he purchased for him, the title of Pacha, from the grand seigneur, which he accepted with apparent content. Disappointed, however, in the hopes he had indulged of wielding the sceptre, his ambition could not rest satisfied with an empty title, and no power or command. He waited for a favourable occasion and fled to the mountains, where he had formed a party, and with which he attacked his uncle, Hassan Ben Ali, who several times defeated him. Finding his resources inadequate, he prevailed on the Algerines to assist him, who sent a powerful army before Tunis, took the city, drove Hassan Ben Ali to Suza, and established Ali Bey. Hassan Ben Ali remained a long time in exile, when having formed the determination of requiring assistance from the Algerines to re-establish him and protect his children, he left Suza for Algiers, but shortly after was overtaken by Younnes Bey, the eldest son of Ali Pacha, who put him to death—the children escaped. Ali Pachi having removed, the principal claimant to the throne was led to expect a peaceable reign, but was disappointed by the turbulent and factious spirit of his children.—His second son, Mahmed Bey, formed the design of excluding his elder brother, Younnes, from the succession, by creating disaffection towards him in the minds of the father and the people. This he succeeded in doing. Younnes Bey finding himself superseded by his brother, fled from the palace at Bardo; took possession of a strong fortress in the city of Tunis, built by Charles the Fifth, called the Gaspa, which commands the town. From this citadel, however, he was driven, and fled to Algiers, to claim assistance as usual. Mahmed then removed his younger brother, by causing him to be poisoned, and flattered himself with the hope of filling the throne on the death of his father, Ali Pacha. At this period, a revolution occurred at Algiers, which terminated in electing a Dey, who was an avowed enemy to Younnes Bey, and all his family; he determined to espouse the cause of the two children of Hassan Ben Ali, who had been killed by Younnes Bey; and accordingly marched before Tunis, took possession of the city, caused Ali Pacha, the reigning Bey, to be strangled, and placed Mahmed Bey, the eldest son of Hassan Ben Ali, on the throne. Tranquillity was once more restored; the Bey, however, died shortly after, leaving two children yet in infancy, who were called Mahmoud and Ishmael; both of whom are now alive, and the eldest is at present Bey of Tunis. These children being too young to

reign, Ali Bey, the brother of Mahmed, took possession in trust for his nephew ; but having a son who gave early indications of a great mind, he used his efforts to make him popular with the people, which he succeeded in doing ; and, on his death, Hamouda Pacha, one of the greatest men that ever governed in that kingdom, was created Bey. This place he held for upwards of thirty years, and was succeeded by his brother Attoman, to the exclusion of Mahmaud and Ishmael, who were the legitimate claimants ; they, however, caused him to be assassinated ; and in 1815, Mahmaud Bey, the grandson of Hassan Ben Ali, and the descendant of the Genoese lady, was chosen Bey. Thus, for one thousand years, Tunis has been convulsed by revolutions, and these revolutions have not been without their effect in corrupting the minds of the people, in rendering them insensible to the principles of honour and good faith, and in perpetuating a system of despotism and cold-blooded cruelty ; and, amidst all these scenes of confusion and disorder, it will be seen, that the Algerines have played no inconsiderable part ; they have ever been prepared to afford co-operation to that party the most disaffected, and the most likely to promote tumult and disorder ; and, in addition to these internal commotions, it will be recollected, that all the States in Barbary were prosecuting a continued warfare against all Christendom.

Hamouda Pacha commenced his administration under the most favourable circumstances. He was, at that period, not more than twenty-five years of age, and had already accustomed himself to the discharge of public duties, and had made himself familiar with all the necessary forms and pursuits of government ; he was active, and accounted a brave officer ; shrewd and comprehensive ; possessing genius, and judgment, and was remarkable for the promptness and decision with which he managed public affairs. The energy and vigour of his administration afforded to the Tunisians the best assurance of tranquillity : and, during a reign of upwards of thirty-two years, that kingdom was preserved from revolutions, or internal commotions of any consequence.

The activity and eager desire of the Bey to acquire fame and wealth soon led him to organize his army and navy ; the former with a view of checking the influence of the Algerines, and the latter to cruise against the commerce of the Christian States in the Mediterranean. The first effort of any note was made by a descent

on the island of St. Pierre, near Sardinia, by a small squadron, which succeeded in surprising the place, and carrying away near one thousand of its defenceless inhabitants into slavery. These unfortunate creatures remained many years in bondage; some were released by ransom and exchange, but many of them, who were far advanced in life, ended their days in that dreadful state of ignominy.

Notwithstanding the great efforts of the Bey to insure the tranquillity of his kingdom; by an excess of vigilance, he was not wholly exempt from partial insurrections, and one, which occurred towards the close of his reign, was marked by very alarming circumstances. In the army, which consisted of 40,000 men, there were 6000 Turkish soldiers, who had left the territories of the Grand Seignior, and had enlisted at different periods in the Tunisian army. These men, composed of the worst class of troops belonging to the forces of the Ottoman empire, had been dismissed from the service without any provision being made for them, and they accordingly joined the troops on the Barbary coast, and were prepared for any scenes of tumult and disorder. The knowledge of the Greek and Turkish language, afforded ample occasion for the soldiers to organize their plans without incurring any suspicion of their intentions by the natives, who only spoke the Arabic. Accordingly these Turkish soldiers arranged a plan to destroy the Bey and his officers, seize upon the government, and change its form, by electing one of their chiefs on the same principle as that of Algiers. This plan, however, was defeated by the rapacity of the Turks, who rushed into the city, seized the fortress of the Gaspa, and without waiting until all the strong places had been secured, fell to plundering, breaking open shops, and committing every species of excess and cruelty. This afforded time to the Bey, whose palace, strongly fortified, was a league from Tunis, to collect a sufficient force, capable of manning the out batteries, which soon commenced a brisk cannonade on the Gaspa. The Turks finding themselves severely handled, and having no order or regularity, soon fled from the ramparts—many tried to escape, but were overtaken by the cavalry, and destroyed, and the revolution terminated by the destruction of the greatest portion of the insurgents.

Finding Hamouda Pacha thus vigilant and brave, capable of ruling, shrewd, penetrating, and sagacious, no further attempts were made,

to revolutionise that country, and the Pacha saw at once, the urgent necessity of ridding himself of Turkish guards, and substituting the Zuaves and Moors, in whom more confidence could be placed. Though few important insurrections occurred during his reign, yet attempts have been made to assassinate him, one of which, very nearly succeeded. The Palace of Bardo, is filled with Christian slaves, who attend on the Bey, his ministers, and other officers of the court. Three of these slaves, all young, and Georgians by birth, having been severely treated by the first Minister, formed the resolution to assassinate Hamouda, with the hope, that the minister, or keeper of the seals, would be made answerable, as the care of the Bey's person, was assigned to him. They entered his chamber at midnight, resolved to cut his throat, and seized the Bey for that purpose, who defended himself, and called for assistance. The minister, who slept in an adjoining apartment, flew to his relief, the slaves were well armed, and wounded him with a pistol ball; the Palace was roused, and the commander in chief of the army, rushing in, met one of the slaves, attempting to escape, whom he cut down with his sabre, the other two escaped to their rooms, barricaded the doors, and then, in anticipation of their fate, shot each other. The Bey, in the struggle, was severely wounded in the face and hand in defending himself, but behaved with great presence of mind on the occasion. At length, the tranquil reign of this extraordinary man drew to a close.

The Mahometan fast of the Ramadan consists of thirty days, and falls in the months of July and August, the most oppressive season of the year. This fast is most rigidly observed by all Mussulmen—they neither eat, drink, nor smoke, from sunrise until sunset, during that period. The last day, just as the evening gun was about to be fired, which concluded the fast of the Ramadan, and ushered in the feast of Biram, the Bey, in tasting a cup of coffee, fell down and instantly died. The utmost consternation prevailed—the long reign of Hamouda Pacha—the vigor of his administration—his high character, and the suddenness of his death, all combined to produce the greatest alarm and dismay in the Palace.—During this confusion, some of the Ministers, and a few officers, suddenly forced the brother of Hamouda Pacha, Ottoman, who was lamenting his death, into the chair of state, and declared him Bey. The oaths were immediately administered—the flags were display-

ed, and the cannon fired from the ramparts—order and tranquillity were restored.

It will be recollected, that Mahmet Bey, left two sons, Mahmoud and Ishmael, who were too young to reign, and Ali Bey, wielded the sceptre on their behalf, but carefully educated his son, the young Hamouda, and so familiarized him to the people, that when Ali Bey died, which was in 1782, he found no difficulty to put aside the legitimate claims of Mahmoud, and mount the throne himself. Finding the power and popularity of Hamouda Pacha, rapidly increased, they relinquished their claims, and lived tranquil and retired, in the Palace at Bardo, well treated by Hamouda, but, at the same time, narrowly watched. When the news reached them, that Hamouda Pacha had suddenly died, the hope of reigning, which had long laid dormant, suddenly revived, and Mahmoud arming himself and his two sons, rushed towards the hall of justice, in hopes that his claims would be recognised; he found Ottoman on the throne, surrounded by his ministers and guards, and bending to his fate, he kissed the hand of the new Bey, gave in his adhesion, and retired with apparent content. It was this Bey, who reigned on my arrival, and who had been but three months on the throne. Hamouda, though he had several wives, had no children; he was violently attached to a Christian slave, of uncommon beauty, whom he was educating with great attention, designing to marry her, but she fell a victim to a malignant fever, and the Bey, seriously affected by her death, resolved not to marry. He was not without his full share of vicious propensities, which the barbarous age and people have encouraged. Ottoman Bey, had two sons, one of which, who was called Sidi Salla, had been educated by Hamouda Pacha, and was represented as a very amiable and able man, and one calculated to be very popular.

The indisposition of the Bey continued, and I arranged my Consular present, to carry with me to the Palace, on my first visit. On the sixth day, after my arrival, about day break, the Chancellor, Mr. Allegro, knocked at my chamber door, accompanied by a Mameluke and both Drogamen armed, and informed me, that in the night, a revolution had broke out at the Palace at Bardo, in which the Bey, Ottoman Pacha, had been murdered, together with Mariano, the Christian Secretary, and about sixteen persons. Here was a revolution, upon the very threshold of my duties. I

arose, and ascended to the terrace of the house, the city gates were closed, and guards were placed throughout the town, the utmost silence prevailed, small parties of Mamelukes on horseback, were seen riding swiftly by the walls; about nine o'clock, salutes from the batteries, announced that the new Bey was elected, and tranquillity restored; shops were then opened, the streets were filled, and the Consuls displayed their flags. This revolution should have been foreseen, and could have been prevented. On the appointment of Ottoman Bey, Mahmoud, the legitimate sovereign, was by no means satisfied; though far advanced in years, and of a mild and peaceable disposition, he felt it incumbent upon himself, to use his exertions, to create a party in his favour, and, in this attempt, he was stimulated, by his two sons, Hassan and Mustapha, men of quick and apt parts, but of ferocious and villainous characters. Accordingly, a party was formed, and plans digested, in which the Sapatapa, or first minister, was supposed to have had a principal agency. Revolutions in Barbary, never end without blood; the crown, cannot be wrested from the head, without the head is taken from the body, and with the death of a Bey, his family and immediate friends, equally suffer. Ottoman Bey, had some intimation of the plans which were progressing, but being of a mild disposition, and unwilling to confine his cousins, he neglected taking due precaution, and according to arrangements, Mahmoud entered his chamber in the night, armed with a blunderbuss, the contents of which he lodged in the breast of Ottoman; the attendants were destroyed, and the sick Bey upbraided his assassin with ingratitude, and died. Sidi Salla and his brother, made their escape by means of a rope, which lowered them on the walls. Soliman Kya, the commander of the troops, collected a small band, and from his room, in which arms were deposited, he fired on the revolutionists below in the court, and killed several; he would not surrender, until the new Bey, in token of reconciliation, sent him his chaplet of beads, which Mussulmen as well as Catholics, carry, and which is considered as a bond of faith. He then came down, acknowledged his new chief, and was received into favour. One of the most conspicuous persons, who fell in this revolution, was Mariano Stinca, the Christian Secretary. This man was a Neapolitan by birth, and was made a slave at an early age; Hamonda Pacha, finding him intelligent, made him his Secretary, and employed him to transact all the affairs, and interpret the letters of

the Consuls. Engaged in commerce, and becoming avaricious, he was permitted to accumulate considerable wealth, which the Bey, always considered as his private property, and Mariano, from long habit, and assimilation of manners with the Mussulmen, became, without changing his faith, familiar with their vices and intrigues, and was revengeful and cunning. The Sapatapa, was a great enemy to Mariano, as he found it impossible to destroy his influence with Hamouda Pacha, and had determined to revenge himself. When Ottoman Bey ascended the throne, he gave Mariano his freedom, which, instead of immediately accepting, and leaving the country, his avaricious disposition led him to loiter in it, to collect a few outstanding debts, until the new revolution took place. When Mahmoud was acknowledged Bey, Mariano kissed his hand, and while the Bey was raising him up, and assuring him of his protection, the Sapatapa rushed in, and accused Mariano of poisoning Hamouda Pacha, called for his death, and urged it upon the new Bey, who, at last, waved his hand in token of acquiescence, and Mariano was seized by two gigantic blacks, carried into the marble patio in front of the hall, where the Bey sat, and there, with hands clasped, the time for a short prayer being denied him, was cut and hacked to pieces, and his body stripped naked, was thrown like a dog, before the gate of the Catholic burying ground, by these barbarous and bloody Mussulmen.

Sidi Salla, and his unfortunate brother, having leaped from the walls into the ditch, made their way towards the Goletta, aided by the darkness of the night, with a view of getting on board some vessel, which lay in the roads. The commander of this fortress, who was also the Minister of Marine, suspecting that some revolution had taken place, continued to detain the Princes until dawn, when a troop of Mamelukes arrived, stating that Mahmoud was created Bey, and had issued orders, to put Sidi Salla and his brother to death. These unfortunate men broke loose, and threw themselves into the canal, with an intention to drown themselves, their object, however, was defeated, they were taken out, their hands secured behind their backs, with their silk sashes, carried outside of the walls of the Goletta, and were there cut to pieces; their bodies were brought up to Tunis, and exposed before the fortress of the Gaspa. Thus terminated another revolution, which restored the regular succession, after an interregnum of thirty-two years.

On the succeeding day, I made arrangements to pay my respects to his Highness, to deliver my credentials, and what, I was persuaded would be more acceptable, my Consular present. At eight o'clock, I left Tunis in the carriage of the French Consul, drawn by Mules. Mr. Coxe, Mr. Ambrosio Allegro, and the Dragoman were on horseback, and the articles, composing the present, following in a small cart. We passed through several crooked streets, scarcely ten feet wide, and between walls of plaster, and made our way, through one of the city gates, and entered the plain, which, though in December, was covered with verdure, looking gay and cheerful. In front of us, on an eminence, were two forts, commanding the city, and the main road; a modern aqueduct, built by Charles the Fifth, is still in good repair, and served to convey water to these forts. Passing under this aqueduct, we descended into a valley of great extent and beauty; the Palace of Bardo, with its wall, bastions, ditches, and cannon, lay on our right, beyond which, on our left, was the garden of Manuba, a favourite country seat of the Beys, and further on, through scattered groves of the acacia and carob trees, lay the mouldering relics of the superb aqueduct, which once conveyed water to Carthage. The road was broad, fine, and level, and was filled with parties of Mamelukes and Janizaries, Bedouins on foot, market people, and merchants, having business at the Palace.

We entered, through the heavy gate and arched way, under which sat, cross-legged, a huge and unwieldy Turk, who was called Bashamba of the Mamelukes, or chief, and several other officers, with their arms suspended against the walls; the court yard was paved, and having small houses for the Christian slaves, we entered another gate, and not fifty paces further, we passed through another, which opened on a small square, surrounded by Moorish houses, high and gloomy. In front, was the entrance to the Palace, we passed through an arch way, filled with armed Janizaries, it was a guard house, and opened into another square, in front of which, a flight of marble steps led to the patio, paved with stone flags, and supporting the upper apartments, by pillars of fine Italian marble, several large rooms, branched from it, in one of which, the Bey was administering justice. Thus we had passed through no less than six gates, all guarded, before we could reach the august presence of this Barbary Chief, who, it appears, did not rely

much on the confidence, and attachment of his people. We found the Swedish Envoy, and Consul, already there, and walking up and down the marble patio, among slaves, water-carriers, cooks, Arabs, and Janizaries, as no Bey of Tunis, has ever thought proper to appropriate an apartment, for the use of the foreign Consuls. After they had departed, one of the attendants informed me, that the Bey was ready to receive us. One of the guards took the *Attaghan*, or small sword from my Drogaman, who preceded us. I imagined that they would have made the same request of me, and held the hilt of my sword with a firm grasp ; they, however, let me pass armed. We entered the Hall of Audience, the roof of fret-work was supported by heavy pillars of marble ; the hall was gloomy, and filled with officers of state, and guards. At the extremity, on an Ottoman, raised a few inches from the floor, and covered with silk, sat Mahmoud, the new Bey of Tunis, leaning indolently against cushions ; at his feet, were several talbs or secretaries, writing on slips of paper, and in large books. He was very richly dressed ; his fingers and thumbs were covered with large and valuable brilliants ; at his side lay a snuff box and a sabre, each studded with jewels ; he hardly deigned to raise himself on my approach ; "kiss his hand" said Mr. Coxe, after performing the same ceremony himself ; I stooped, for it is necessary to stoop, when conforming to this humiliating, and most degrading custom. I shuddered, when, in compliance with usage, I felt myself obliged to kiss the hand of a murderer, yet reeking with the blood of his relation. But it was necessary for the public service, although the people are not aware, how much their officers have to suffer, in promoting the public good. "Has he brought a letter from the President ?" said the *Sapacopa*, or prime minister, in no very gentle accents. I produced my letters of credence, which he took and handed to a person near him, while I assured the Bey, of the favourable opinion entertained for him by the President, and the desire, expressed and manifested, to continue unimpaired, the amicable relations hitherto existing. He raised himself to listen, while he very negligently combed his beard, with a small tortoise shell pocket comb, which he kept in his hand, and replied with some emphasis, *obligato*. The Consular present was brought in by the slaves, and the Palace of justice, soon became a warehouse of merchandize ; fine cambrics and linens, superfine cloths, rich brocades, gold and silver mounted guns and pistols, diamonds and

musical snuff boxes, watches, and gold rings, were spread around, and each person pressed forward, to look at the curiosities. His highness having a taste for music, felt desirous of hearing the watches, snuff boxes, and seals play their tunes; accordingly they were set in motion, and the sight was really ludicrous; the Bey sat in solemn state, listening; the Ministers, guards, and slaves, all with sober looks, not a muscle discomposed, were attending to the tunes, with as much gravity, as they would to a mufti; while the watches and boxes were playing the Queen of Prussia's Waltz, the Tyrolese air, the March in Aline, Reine de Golconda, and other tunes equally pretty, and of which, these Turks were profoundly ignorant. The Bey, finally ordered all the articles to be carried to the apartment of the *Sapatapa*, and by him to be examined, and as he was new in office, if he approved of them, and said they were according to custom, why all would be well; so that this voluntary present, had all the appearance of a tribute. Mahmoud Bey, appeared to be about sixty years of age, corpulent, but having an air of respectability and mildness; he was wholly ignorant of public affairs, his life had hitherto been passed in retirement, and he relied on the officers of government, for necessary information. Near him, stood his two sons, Hassan and Mustapha, splendidly dressed; these young men in the time of Hamouda Pacha, were loose and depraved, committing so many faults, that the Bey often confined them, and threatened at times, to have them strangled. They were active in the late revolution, and looked like two finished villains, particularly the younger son, Sidi Mustapha.

It was necessary for me to know something concerning the character and qualifications, of the different ministers, composing the Tunisian Court, as I should be compelled to transact with them, all business and concerns, relative to the two countries.—The most important personage is Sidi Yusef, the first minister, or as he is commonly called, the *Sapatapa*, or keeper of the seals, a corruption of *Scid-e-tapa*. This man is a slave, and a Georgian by birth. In his youth, he was considered handsome, and attracted the attention of Hamouda Pacha, who finding him shrewd and comprehensive, gradually advanced him, and gave him every facility, in the accumulation of wealth, knowing full well, that as a slave, his wealth was not his own. The Bey would not permit him to marry, but gave him the entire charge of the foreign relations, and for twenty years, his rapacity and intrigue, have been

severely felt by the Christian powers generally, towards which, he feels the most fixed and deadly hatred. He is a compound of cruelty, jealousy, intrigue, rapacity, and low cunning, and his face is strongly marked with every hateful passion. His avarice leads him to participate in every commercial expedition, and he involves every person in difficulty, with whom he has transactions ; such a man, it became necessary for me to know, and to shun, to have no connection with him, except that indispensable to the public service, and to be vigilant, prompt, and unyielding. The Minister of Marine, *Mahommed Cogia*, is the next influential person in this kingdom. He was once sent as a Minister to London, and also to France, where, in addition to experience, his prejudices were considerably softened. He is familiar with public affairs, of good talents, and considerable shrewdness ; and his private character is highly, and very justly esteemed ; he is, in fact, a very mild and amiable man, but still fond of presents, and of making money ; he commands the fortress of the Goletta ; his brother, who is equally respectable, is the *kyat*, or governor of Bizerta, and his eldest son, is governor of Porta Farina. *Soliman Kya*, is a Georgian slave, about forty years of age ; he is commander in chief of all the land forces, distinguished for his bravery, but particularly for his manly and frank character ; he is open, liberal, and humane, and possesses a most perfect amenity of manners. His talents and prudence are generally admitted, and he would do credit to a Christian army. The Bey gave him his liberty, and his daughter in marriage, and he holds an important rank and influence. There are a few other persons, not of much note, so that the Sapatapa may be considered as the only obnoxious character at that court, excepting the two sons of the Bey. The officers of the navy, are not distinguished ; there is a favourite captain, called Rais Hassuna, who has long been engaged in commerce ; Hassuna speaks English, French, and Italian ; is popular with all parties ; fond of Christians ; and is of great service to the Bey, in his foreign relations.

Finding that the presents, were to be inspected by the Sapatapa. I considered it necessary, to purchase his favourable report, as he had already intimated to me, that much was expected on my arrival, as nothing had been given for several years. Accordingly we went into his apartment, which was neatly furnished ; the presents were brought before him, which I enumerated, and parcelled out,

according to a list, which I had previously made ; several articles of minor value remaining, I requested the Sapatapa, to distribute them among whomsoever he might think deserving ; the compliment pleased him, and his brow of wrinkled discontent relaxed ; he sent them off in several directions, ordered us a cup of coffee, and our visit terminated mutually satisfied. We had yet to pay our respects to Sidi Ishmael, the brother of the Bey ; a man of singular character, and very inoffensive disposition, fond of Christian company, excellent at a joke, or a good story, and withal a *bon vivant*, very frequently getting drunk, to the utter discredit of the Koran, and a particular judge of good wine, which he called vinegar, out of respect to the scruples of Mahomet. Sidi Ishmael, was a devoted friend to Bonaparte ; was eager in search of news from Europe, and the events of each battle were regularly detailed to him ; and he was observed to drink two bottles of Burgundy, for every victory achieved by the Emperor, but whether out of respect to Bacchus, or compliment to Mars, could not be distinctly ascertained. We crossed the court yard, entered through several subterraneous passages, into a dark room, where, perched on an elevation, covered with old carpeting, sat his highness cross-legged, surrounded by a few persons. The ignominious farce of kissing hands was repeated ; I thought of Eaton and Hamouda Pacha, “ the bear growled and held out his paw.” Sidi Ishmael was jocose ; “ *Consula Americano*,” said he, “ Ah ! I know your people, Mely Mely, who was once in your country, spoke well of you, and said the Americans never told a lie ;” never said I, well pleased that we stood high as to veracity with the Barbarian chief. I presented him with a handsome diamond ring, which, after having examined, he put on his finger looked up, shook his head, and said, *obligato* ; then smiled, as much as to say, “ the fool and his money are soon parted.” I felt its force, and do acknowledge its justice ; we should send these tributes in disguise : a small sum, annually distributed to the subordinate officers of the Palace, and the unfortunate slaves, would do credit to our bounty.

I returned to Tunis, after a fatiguing day, unprofitably spent ; and, in a short time, I received a visit from the band of music, belonging to the Bey, which had been sent to serenade the consuls, and congratulate them, on the *happy* revolution which had just taken place. They had paid their visit to the French and English Con-

suls, and my turn was next. The band consisted of about a dozen men, with a leader, the instruments were principally pipes, with short drums, which are beat upon with the fingers and a stick, a trumpet, and a few cymbals. They obtained seats in the patio, and gave a specimen of their abilities, by playing a national air, the most vile, shrieking, and discordant, I had ever heard, without harmony, method, time, or arrangement; out of compliment to my suffering ears and aching head, the leader politely curtailed the air; he entered the saloon to take some refreshment, and Mr. Coxe who is an amateur in music, played some Turkish airs on the violin, with much taste, but which the Turban'd Orpheus, regarded with sovereign contempt. The truth is, that our idea of Turkish music, is very erroneous; they are wholly ignorant of the science, and do not comprehend a note. The ballads, sung in Arabic, are soft and plaintive, and their poetry, is smooth and metaphorical. According to custom, the band received a present of 22 *Maboobs*, a golden coin, about the value of one dollar and twenty cents each, and took their departure. They had not been absent ten minutes, before the band of the Divan made their appearance, upon the same harmonious errand; they were old men, and wore high caps, curiously formed, with flaps reaching down their backs; they seated themselves gravely, shrieked an air or two, and then retired with eight *Maboobs*. Anon came the *bowebs*, or door-keepers of the Palace, who offered their congratulations, and departed with 36 piastres; shortly after, the guard of the wardrobe—of the slippers—of the slaves, and finally the principal slaves themselves, came to pay their disinterested respects, and I found it necessary to have a Bank at my command, which, happily for Tunis, none existed, in order to comply with custom and usage.

Relieved from these expensive and intrusive visits, I had sufficient leisure to inquire into the state of society, and learn something of the character, genius, and disposition of the people, among whom it was my lot to reside.

Tunis has long been a port of great commercial importance; and independent of public functionaries, several respectable French and Italian merchants were established there; generally speaking, good society is to be found. It was, however, among the Consular families, that I was to seek for friends, for amusements, and for instruction.

Tunis has treaties with the French, English, American, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Spanish, and Neapolitan governments ; and great diversity of character and influence, exists among their representatives at that Court. The French Consul, Mr. Devoise, was at that period absent, I, however, had the pleasure of knowing him personally, before I left Tunis ; he had been many years at that place, and was a pleasant, amiable, and hospitable old gentleman, possessed of some information, and of limited influence ; his family was small, but several French merchants, residing in his Consulate, and under his protection, rendered his house a very agreeable resort. The English government, is probably better represented in Tunis, than in any other part of Barbary, and no doubt equally with any part of Europe. Mr. Oglander, the Consul-General, has resided several years in Barbary, although a young man. Intimately acquainted with the policy of that regency, familiar with their habits and customs, firm in his representations, yet mild and courteous in his manners, he maintains the relations of his country, on the best and most effective footing, and though representing a very powerful nation, and commanding the application of that power when necessary, he is careful, in making no ostentatious display of it, or demanding the concession of any point, not required by treaty, or the principles of reciprocal good faith. Without commanding talents, he is, nevertheless, sound, discreet, and well informed, correct in his deportment, and very honourable in all his transactions. With Mr. Oglander, I felt it my duty to cultivate a close acquaintance, to consult with him on all points of a doubtful nature, and his advice I found judicious, his opinions correct, and, although some circumstances of a public nature, occurred while I was in Tunis, which were calculated to excite national feelings, they produced no effect upon him, he was always liberal and respectable.

Denmark is extremely well represented by Mr. A. C. Gierliew. This kingdom, from its remote situation, its limited means of defence, and the discreditable pressure of other nations upon it, in consequence of its honest faith towards France, is compelled to pay a tribute, in military stores to the Bey, and which, with its vicissitudes and heavy losses, particularly in Norway, they find difficult to fulfil ; under such pressure, Mr. Gierliew finds himself at times, in delicate and unpleasant situations. He is an excellent

scholar, familiar with ancient and modern works, possesses a fine and comprehensive taste and genius, and is a man of strict honour ; he is rather fiery and quick, and somewhat too ceremonious, and attaches great importance to his diplomatic station : he is, nevertheless, a warm and affectionate friend, and a very estimable man. His government, would be benefitted by his talents in a more important sphere.

Mr. Tulin, the Swedish consul-general, is a very young man, and the successor of his father in that office. Being born at Tunis, the Bey considers him, something in the light of a subject, over whom he has a just controul ; he is familiar with the Arabic language, and is capable of being serviceable to his government ; he resides with his mother, whose house is a general and agreeable resort ; Madam Tulin, being a respectable and intelligent lady ; she has two daughters, one of whom, is married to the British consul.

Mr. Soler, the Spanish consul, who is since dead, maintained a very creditable character, was amiable, inoffensive, and correct. His place has been filled by his brother Don Pedro, a young man of considerable promise, who supports his mother, sisters, and a large family.

The Neapolitan consul, is Mr. de Martino, originally sent to Tunis by Murat, king of Naples, he is a shrewd young man, capable of managing public affairs, and greatly aided by the Neapolitan slaves, residing at the palace ; his house adjoined mine, and I found him amiable and clever.

The most conspicuous person, in the *corps diplomatique* at Tunis, is Mr. Nyssen, the Dutch consul. This gentleman, now advanced in years, was, born in that kingdom, during the reign of Ali Bey ; familiar with the Arabic language and Moorish customs, he is more attached to that government, than to any of the Christian powers. During the period, when Holland was annexed to France, and his functions suspended, he was in a measure supported by the Bey, and became a spy on the other consuls. Full of intrigue and mischief, he deranged all the measures of the Christian nations ; and, from his acquaintance with foreign affairs, he furnished such information to the Bey, as enabled him generally to make his own terms. He interfered in all our relations, and has cost the United States large sums of money. He is, nevertheless,

a good hearted old bachelor, and very hospitable. I checked him promptly, whenever I found him disposed to meddle with our concerns, and I was the only American consul, who ever agreed with Nyssen. Since my departure, the consuls have met, and determined not to associate with him, finding so many unfavourable and unpleasant results, from his censurable interference. Captain John E. Humbert, is a brother-in-law to Mr. Nyssen, is an engineer in the service of the Bey, and is generally employed at the Goletta, at which place, he has a house assigned him. Mr Humbert has resided near twenty years on the ruins of Carthage ; his situation and public duties, give him advantages, which no other person can ever hope to possess, for the natural jealousy of the people, would prevent a stranger, from taking plans of the city and neighbourhood, which his public situation, makes a duty incumbent upon him. Since his residence in Tunis, he has devoted his attention to the antiquities of the kingdom, and from habit and study, he has become an excellent antiquarian ; he possesses a fine collection of gold, silver, and bronze coins, which cabinet he values at 20,000 dollars ; he has taken copies of all the inscriptions found in the interior, he has a good taste for painting, and has made drawings of statues, sepulchral lamps, caps, pediments, &c. and designs writing a history of that country ; which from his talents and experience, will no doubt be interesting. He is a sociable and pleasant companion, a little parsimonious, and fond of presents. In addition to the consular families, there are several respectable merchants, which together, constitute an agreeable society, and when properly cultivated, can be made useful and pleasant to a stranger.

I had long promised myself the gratification of a visit to Carthage, and had arranged with Mr. Humbert to visit that celebrated spot, in his company, and several others, having some knowledge of its antiquities. An event, however, occurred, which, for a time, suspended my visit.

A Courier arrived from the Goletta, bringing the bill of health of the American private armed brig *Abaellino*, Captain Wyër, of six guns and seventy-six men, in twenty nine days from Boston. I sent the chancellor to announce her arrival at the palace, and to obtain *pratique*, and rode to the Goletta to see the captain. About this period, the treaty of Ghent had reached us, and by its stipu-

lations, hostilities were to cease in the Mediterranean, in about four weeks, and not having heard of a privateer entering the Mediterranean during the war, I was not without suspicions that the *Abëllino* had been fitted from Marseilles. I was, however, undeceived, the Captain's clearance, and other papers, together with Boston gazettes of equal date, satisfied me that he was direct from the United States. Captain Wyer informed me, that his object in coming to this port was to ascertain the disposition of the government, in permitting him to bring in and dispose of English prizes, and requested me to make the necessary arrangements, stating, at the same time, that under Cape de Gatt, he had captured an English vessel, bound from Liverpool to Sicily, and laden with a valuable cargo, which he had ordered for Tunis ; that his time was limited, and he must make the best use of it. Here were new and unexpected difficulties to contend with. The British had vessels of war at Malta, and in various parts of the European coast ; the Tunisians had just cause of alarm, in arousing the vengeance of this nation, and I was not fully satisfied, that their Treaty did not prohibit the sale of prizes. It was altogether a very delicate attempt, requiring some dexterity in managing. The *Abëllino* was a beautiful coppered brig, of surprising swiftness, and, if I am not mistaken, she anchored near the ruins of Carthage, completely armed and equipped, and had taken a valuable prize, *in less than sixty days after her keel had been laid in America !* What nation can boast of equal enterprise ? What efforts in ancient or modern warfare, bear comparison with this ?

The next day I paid a visit to the Sapatapa, conceiving it necessary to remove his scruples, before I saw the Bey on the subject. I briefly informed him, of the visit of the privateer and the object, and made known to him, that a prize vessel would shortly arrive, and which, I expected permission would be obtained to dispose of. His grim visage relaxed into a smile, and he eagerly asked, " is she valuable ? " I replied, that from the invoices which I had seen, the value might be about fifty thousand dollars. Great difficulties said he, exist in selling this prize, the English have a stipulation in their Treaty, prohibiting the sale of prizes made from them, and if it is accomplished, it will be after great exertion, and attended with considerable responsibility. I stated to the Sapatapa, that the French had brought many valuable American prizes, into

Tunis, captured under the Berlin and Milan Decrees, which they had sold, notwithstanding our remonstrances, and which were replied to, by according to us freely, a permission to bring in, and dispose of French and other prizes ; as the policy of the Bey was avowed to be strictly neutral. Our Treaty also, contained a general stipulation, that we should be placed on the same footing, as the most favoured nation. I neither required, nor expected, that they should violate any stipulation of the British Treaty, but merely to afford to us, the same immunities, which had been conferred on the French nation. In conclusion, I stated to the Sapatapa, that notwithstanding the present claim was predicated on a right guaranteed by Treaty, and admitted by the avowed neutrality of his Highness, still I would not be insensible, to the just and favourable construction of that right, which he might be pleased to make to the Bey, and that he might rely on a liberal consideration for his services.—This was the chord which produced harmony. Go, said he, and depend upon it, that I will do my best for you ; when the prize arrives, have her brought into the canal, and under the protection of our guns, or the British will cut her out. I left the first Minister, and in crossing the marble Patio, I met the Minister of Marine ; So, said he, you are about bringing us into trouble with the English ; however, when the goods are sold, don't forget my present ; “ thrice to thine,” said I, and continued my walk. I passed the *Bashamba* of the Mamelukes, a modest man ; Seignor Consul, said he, if the English prize has any coffee and sugar, I should like to have some : “ and thrice to thine.” If your privateer has any fine calicoes, save me some, said the *Kya of Bizerta*, as he brushed by me, “ and thrice again to make up nine.”—*Shakespeare*.—These harpies, how they flutter about you, when any thing is to be had.—The Privateer landed some merchandise, and as time was precious, she put to sea immediately. The British Consul was apprised of these movements, and although I saw him frequently, he did not touch on the subject of the Prizes, doubtless reserving to himself, the right of remonstrating against their disposal.

In a few days, the schooner arrived, having on board a prize-master and ten men, her register and papers, fully confirmed her British character. I sent word to the Palace, that I should appear the next day, to claim permission to sell the prize and cargo, fully assured, that the Bey had been prepared to decide on the

subject. At an early hour, I repaired to Bardo, with Ambrosio, the Chancellor, and the Drogaman. I found Mr. Oglander, the British Consul, under the arcade of the Palace, waiting for an audience, he made me two or three cool and distant bows, which were very civilly returned, the object of our meeting, being somewhat of a belligerent character. As he was there first, he was entitled to precedence, and in a short time, he was admitted to an audience. It was desirable, that I should hear his objections, in order to meet them in a suitable manner, and a favourite Christian slave, had slipped in the Hall of Justice, among the guards, and unobserved, had heard and reported to me, the substance of the English remonstrance. In a short time, I was admitted, the Bey was surrounded by all his ministers and officers, the case was delicate and dangerous, and had attracted considerable attention. I related the object of my visit, and the Sapatapa spoke in the name of the Bey. "The English Consul, (said he) has been remonstrating, in terms of unusual warmth, against any privilege being granted to your Privateers, to bring in, and dispose of British prizes, which, he contends, violates the provisions of his treaty, and must produce war. We are favourably disposed towards you, but we neither will violate the Treaty, nor risk a war with the English." I assured the Bey, that I required no sacrifice of principle, or of policy from him, that I asked but justice, and to be placed upon the same footing, as the most favoured nation, that the French had sold American prizes, and, as he avowed himself to be neutral, I could see no reason in preventing Americans from selling English prizes. "There is none, (said the Sapatapa) except that it violates the Treaty, here it is, (said he, handing it to me) read and explain it. I took the document, and examined the article; it had been but lately introduced; the stipulation was, that none of the *Belligerents of Europe*, should dispose of British prizes, in the ports of the kingdom; and it required no ingenuity of construction to show, that we were not included in this provision, and that it could not apply to the American people. Having clearly shown, that my application, in the present instance, did not violate the Treaty, I had to reply to another, and a more ingenious objection, started by the British Consul. "Can you, (said the Bey) sell British prizes in any ports of France, Italy, Spain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Holland, or Sweden?" I frankly confessed, that difficulties would prevent our obtaining that permis-

sion ; “ then, (said he) why do you ask of me a privilege, which no European power will grant you ? do you suppose that I shall act contrary to all Europe ? ” This was a new and unexpected turn, which required satisfactory explanations, to render nugatory, and I immediately stated to the Bey, the nature and extent of the continental war, which was then prosecuting ; in the issue of which, Great Britain was so much interested, as to render it necessary, to afford to each power, such supplies as would enable them to continue the contest ; that with this view, immense sums, were monthly and quarterly disbursed, to every power on the continent, excepting France, and a stipulation had been incidently made by the allies, that the Americans should not sell British prizes in their ports. Now, your Highness will see, that each of these powers has received a valuable consideration for this exclusion, and if they wish to derive special advantages from you on this head, they are in duty bound to put you on the same footing, as they have other independent powers, and purchase from you certain privileges, which they are compelled to purchase from others. I had touched the right key. “ What ? (said the Bey, rising from his seat,) do the English pay other powers to exclude American prizes, and give me nothing, for the same privilege ? I, who am a great Prince ? Consul, you may sell your prizes, speak to the Sapatapa and arrange it.” Thus terminated my first essay in diplomacy, the success of which, is only attributable to my having the prize ; justice, with these people, being ever in the heaviest scale, though it must be confessed, that our right to dispose of prizes remained undisputed. The merchandise was landed, brought up to Tunis, and a day fixed for its disposal. I profited by the interregnum of business, to visit Carthage.

The name of Carthage awakens the most powerful recollections of those wonderful events, which, for two thousand years occupied the attention and interest, and have commanded the regret and admiration of the world. To every civilized person, the history of Carthage, affords a singular and useful lesson ; but to an American, to a citizen of the only Republic on earth, the vicissitudes which that great Republic of antiquity has sustained, cannot fail to impress upon his mind, the great blessings of civil liberty, when they are correctly estimated, and prudently enjoyed

The ruins seldom fail to excite the highest interest ; the lapse of time since the foundation of Carthage ; the various struggles and revolutions it has witnessed ; the illustrious characters it has produced ; its wars, its tyrants, its triple walls and demolished towers, all combine to awaken recollections of history ; to mark the progress of time, sweeping indiscriminately, in its course, nations, countries and cities. The mind traces with rapidity, the great events connected with the rise, decline, and fall of this republic. Its foundation by the exile, Dido ; the love of Læneas, terror to the Romans, Punic wars, field of Zama, Goths and Vandals, the light Moors, and its present possessors, all appear as dreams ; the events of twenty five centuries pass the eye and the mind, with the rapidity and impression of a noble fiction. We look in vain for those temples in which great spirits dwelt ; those schools in which great genius presided ; those walls which constancy and valour defended—all are ruins ; the flames at the same time destroyed Carthage and Corinth ; and the revolution of empires has consigned them to oblivion. The fall of states and calamities of nations have destroyed Utica and Carthage ; a change of masters, or the adoption of a new political system may place that country into hands less barbarous ; and while Rome is stripped of its splendour and power without a Regulus or a Scipio, Carthage, its fallen rival, may once more rear its head, and if the Barbary States become a province of a civilized power, Carthage, from its commanding position and great commercial advantages, will once more become the first city in Africa.

Dido landed on the coast of Africa, 800 years before the Christian æra, and, with a few followers, established a colony, which even flourished prior to her death. As she had created no form of government, but simply administered laws, which she herself had enacted, the people, on her death, whose numbers had augmented greatly by emigration, assembled, and adopted a government of a mixed nature—divided the power between the nobles and the plebeians, and strange as it would appear, this form of government, existed unimpaired for 700 years. Civil wars then commenced, and popular commotions changed the features of the Republic, which increased by entangling alliances. The Carthagenians first commenced with the people of Boetica, they then assisted Xerxes, fought with Agathocles in Africa; with Pyrrus in Sicily; and finally, gave rise to the first Punic war.

Regulus, one of the most illustrious captains of the age, defeated the Carthagenians in several contests, and, at length, got possession of Tunis, which, even at that period, was a town of some note. The Carthagenians finding him so near to their city, and with a victorious army, attempted to effect a peace. Regulus, although anxious to return to Rome, and superintend his little farm, still proposed terms so harsh and inadmissible, that the Carthagenians, relying on the justice of their cause, and the strength of their city, refused to accede to the terms proposed. This was the first error in Regulus ; it led to his destruction, and laid the foundation of a long and bloody war. Contrary to the general expectation, the Carthagenians resumed the contest, and with success. Part of their forces, commanded by a Lacedemonian, called Xantippus, defeated the Romans, and took Regulus prisoner.

The Romans on receiving the intelligence, recruited their forces, and were, in their turn, successful. The first Punic war continued for twenty-four years. The Romans were no longer the advocates of moderation ; the “ piping times of peace ” had passed, and ambition received new impulse and direction. The capture of Sardinia, and the infraction of the treaty with the Carthagenians, laid the foundation of the second Punic war.

It is impossible to look at the ruins of Carthage, without thinking of Hannibal. This association of ideas will never be separated ; every broken colonade, or mouldering tower, reminds us of this the greatest hero of antiquity. We have often been led to compare Bonaparte, (who had just lost the imperial crown of France) with Hannibal : their characters and operations, differed in equal ratio with their times. One surmounted with inexhaustible strength of character and fertility of invention, the difficulties arising from circumscribed resources—the other, with an improved system of warfare, a gallant army, and a treasury adequate to all its wants, unappalled by danger, undismayed by numbers, and supported by unconquerable ambition, gained victory after victory with a rapidity which has no parallel in history. Hannibal crossed the sea in his little bark—passed trackless mountains, barren plains, and conquered barbarians with barbarians. The invention of gunpowder alone has created the greatest distinctions and difference between their operations. Hannibal, however, had not the genius of Cæsar, nor the fearless, dashing spirit of Alexander—Bonaparte has both. Hannibal could

destroy, but could not organize empires. Bonaparte did both with equal facility. Hannibal was cold and unfeeling, without the least spirit of magnanimity—Bonaparte was equally repulsive, but by no means destitute of a liberal disposition—both crossed the Alps, and were victorious on the plains below—both committed an error which laid the foundation of their ruin—Hannibal, in *not* marching to the gates of Rome, after the battle of Cannea; and Bonaparte, in *marching* to Moscow, and from the two last causes alone can any such comparison be drawn. The last great struggle made by Hannibal was on the plains of Zama against Scipio, surnamed Africanus, a gallant and amiable general. The result of this battle led to the final destruction of Carthage, and ended the second Punic war.

The battle of Zama is so renowned in history for acts of heroism and extraordinary valour, as well as for the important changes it produced, that we were at no little pains in endeavouring to ascertain precisely where the battle so called was fought. Polybius describes the field of Zama as being three days march from Carthage. When we consider how numerous Hannibal's army was—of what discordant materials it was composed—the heavy cavalry and elephants—it is reasonable to conclude, that the army, on leaving Carthage, could not have marched more than fifteen miles a day. Scipio left Sicily and landed at Cape Bon, which lies south-east of Carthage across the bay—the distance between the two capes, in a direct line, is not more than twenty miles; yet, in a circuitous march from Cape Bon to Cape Carthage, which includes the head of that spacious bay, the distance cannot be less than sixty miles. Supposing that the army of Scipio took up its line of march from Cape Bon at the moment the Carthaginian forces began to move, they must have met about half way; the heavy sand prevented both powers from marching on the borders of the bay; the army of Scipio passed in the interior, behind the mountains of Hamam Leef, and must have encountered the forces of Hannibal near a place called at this day, Zowan. It is here where I have every reason to believe the battle of Zama was fought. Zowan was celebrated for a spring of water, so copious, that it supplied Carthage by means of a noble aqueduct of forty miles in extent, the ruins of which exist at present. The advantages of this water, connected with a plain of considerable magnitude, affording room for the operations of the cavalry, and well known to both parties, must have been the spot which both generals endeavored to fix upon.

Hannibal was anxious to avoid this battle, and demanded an interview with Scipio, for the purpose of concluding a peace. His eloquence, however, was without effect, and he made his dispositions with his accustomed vigour and ability ; and, though surrounded with the most discouraging difficulties, he did not forget that he had conquered on the banks of Tacinus, at Trebia, Thrasymene and Cannea. This was a decisive and hard contested battle. Polybius, at a loss which to commend most, avers, that the action was gained more by the steady valour of the Romans, than by any peculiar merit of Scipio, and seems to think, that Hannibal's plans displayed the most skill and judgment. The forces of Hannibal were drawn up in three divisions ; the first was composed of mercenaries. Gauls, Mauritanians, Ligurians, and natives of the Balearic Islands ; the second division were Carthagenians, a body on which his whole reliance was placed ; the third division was the reserve, and the worst part of the army, called the Bruttii ; the whole front was covered by eighty elephants. Scipio, reviewing attentively these arrangements of Hannibal, made corresponding dispositions. The army, which he brought with him from Sicily, did not exceed thirty-five thousand men, but they were picked troops ; and on his arrival, the African prince Massanissa, joined him with a heavy body of cavalry, so that both armies might have consisted of fifty thousand men on each side. Hannibal placed great dependance on his elephants. Since Regulus had defeated the Carthagenians, owing to their confining the operations of these animals in a small space, they had been particularly careful to select a spacious plain for their battles ; and these plains are numerous in the north of Africa, where there are but few trees. Scipio formed his infantry into a phalanx, similiar to the Macedonian, and gave sufficient room to each soldier to wield his sword and shield, and, if necessary, to close their ranks, and allow sufficient space for the elephants to pass through without doing much damage.—This plan rendered their operations weak and inefficient. Hannibal had no very distinguished generals under him. The right wing of Scipio's army was commanded by Laelius, and the left by Massanissa—the centre was headed by Scipio in person. The attack was commenced by the Romans, and, on the very onset, the elephants, on which Hannibal placed great reliance, were driven back by the light infantry, who finally opened their ranks, and allowed them to pass in, and threw the right wing of Hannibal's ar-

my into confusion. Before they had time to rally and recover their position, they were furiously attacked by Massanissa, at the head of the cavalry, and driven off the field. The battle then became general—the Carthagenians fought with great valour, but were poorly supported by the mercenaries. Laelius had routed the Carthagenian cavalry on the left—Hannibal saw the confusion, but could apply no remedy. He placed himself at the head of the third line, and charged the Romans with pikes; this created a temporary derangement of Scipio's troops, who fell back in the rear. Scipio then changed the order of the battle, and formed his army into one entire line, with which he made a desperate effort, and while valiantly engaged on both sides, Laelius with his horse came on the rear of the Carthagenians. Hannibal, finding himself attacked in front by Scipio, and on his rear and flanks by Massanissa and Laelius, sustained for a long time a horrible carnage, and finally was compelled to fly with a few horse. Thus finished the great contest, in which the Carthagenians lost forty thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners—and thus ended the second Punic war. Hannibal left Africa, and Carthage obtained a peace on such conditions as led to her ruin.

On the conclusion of the second Punic war, the power and resources of the Carthagenians had become so weakened as to afford no prospect of changing the obnoxious features of the treaty entered into with the Romans after the battle of Zama. They, however, had the consolation to know, that, if they were unable to shake off the yoke, their weakness would be the means of insuring their tranquillity, and rendering dormant the destructive ambition of their great rival. They were deceived in their calculations, and the opposition of the elder Cato laid the foundation for the third Punic war. The Carthagenians finding their hopes of peace had fled, and perceiving their enemy was bent on their destruction, prepared to make a desperate effort in defence of their liberties. The Romans, under the command of the Consuls Marcius and Manilius, commenced the siege of Carthage, which was prosecuted with vigour, until a fleet and reinforcements arrived, and the besieging army were then commanded by Scipio Emilianus. This general, with his combined forces, made his dispositions with considerable ability: he blockaded the Carthagenian fleet, which was sheltered in the inner harbour, the celebrated Cothon, and

made preparations to burn them by means of fire ships, when the Carthagenians, it is said, in one night, with an incredible industry, cut a canal, by which their fleet sailed out, and doubling the point (now called Cape Carthage) blockaded the Roman fleet, which had taken shelter in the bay, opposite to the level part of the city, known by the name of the suburbs of Mendoracium. This canal or cut, as it is called by historians, is, at present, so choaked by the sand and earth, which have been collecting for many centuries, that it is somewhat difficult to identify. The cut is at the base of the hill on which the Citadel of Byrsa, and the Temple of Esculapius stood. It ran between the upper and lower town, called Megara, and when viewing the same from the summit of Cape Carthage, the length of this canal is a full half mile, and ran about south-east and north-west.

Scipio continued the siege with great vigour, and gained only inch by inch—Carthage was defended by Asdrubal, a man of dreadful energy; and when Scipio had made himself master of the suburbs and lower town, Asdrubal retreated into the Citadel, and continued to defend the city with great bravery; but being overpowered by numbers, he sued for peace; and deserting his companions in the hour of danger, gave up the Citadel. The deserters and mercenaries finding themselves betrayed, set fire to the splendid Temple of Esculapius, and the noble wife of Asdrubal, to mark her abhorrence of the treachery and meanness of her husband, threw herself and her children into the flames.

Thus fell Carthage, and the flames which consumed it, lasted seventeen days. Rome now had no rival to contend with—a strong military force still remained to her—without war or active employment, they commenced a system of broils and commotions, which depraved their manners, corrupted their habits, introduced civil wars and factions, until their liberties expired at the feet of Carthage.

Several attempts were subsequently made to rebuild the city of Dido, by Tiberius Gracchus and Julius Cæsar—and Strabo affirms, that a flourishing colony existed, celebrated for its schools of eloquence. In the new city, St. Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius resided, and rendered it celebrated by their learning and piety.—Carthage was still reserved for new scenes of desolation. An un-

looked for enemy, after overrunning Europe, suddenly made his appearance. The fierce Vandals, under Genseric, appeared before the walls of Carthage, and fixed his seat of empire in that city.—These barbarians overran Africa, which they held for near a century, razed Carthage, its walls, aqueducts, and towers to the earth. It was the ruins, as they left them, which we now were about to view. Africa, in 647, fell into the hands of the Moors.

We left Tunis at an early hour, with two American gentlemen, the Drogaman, and a Moor with a mule, laden with provisions, designing to pass the day on the ruins, and prepared to meet Mr. Humbert, who had appointed to leave the Goletta, and meet us at the foot of the hill.

Carthage is nine miles from Tunis, yet I have reason to believe, that in its most flourishing time, when it contained 700,000 inhabitants, Tunis must nearly have joined it. On the borders of the lake we meet occasionally with the foundation of houses very near Tunis, and the hollow sound arising from the horses' hoofs, at times, led us to believe that we were crossing some subterraneous passage. In fact, Carthage was entirely undermined, and for a most extensive distance, was composed of these subterranean caverns. The hill, on which the Citadel was built, is a complete shell, and for several miles from Carthage, holes are seen in the earth of considerable depth, flagged with square stones, and leading, no doubt, to passages of great length. The confined air renders it impossible to explore these caverns to any distance. If it was possible, and was permitted, many valuable discoveries might be made. The number of sieges this city has witnessed—its great wealth, and works of the arts it possessed, must have rendered these subterraneous passages extremely useful. From Tunis to Carthage, the road is perfectly level and clear, interspersed here and there with a few carob trees. We leave the fortress of the Goletta to the right, about a mile distance, and first reach a beautiful spot called Marsa, at the foot of Carthage, on which most of the foreign consuls have summer houses and gardens. Carthage was built on three hills, and all historians concur as to this point. Yet these hills cannot be distinguished at any distance; but when you arrive at the foot, the three divisions are distinctly seen. These hills are not taken for Cape Carthage, which is at a small distance behind them, and nearly one hundred feet higher; it was on the pro-

montory where the Citadel and Temple of Esculapius stood, which was the strongest part of Carthage. On the summit of the hill there is at present a Turkish village, the burial place of a favourite saint, called Sidi Busaid; formerly none but Mussulmen were permitted to pass through this village; at present this superstition is wearing away. On the extreme point and height of Cape Carthage, is a tower, raised at present as a signal post to announce the appearance of vessels bound in, who are seen at a distance of thirty miles. This tower was built by Saint Louis of France; and on this spot the good king died, while endeavouring to wrest the country from the Moors.

It is impossible to conceive or to describe the beauty of the surrounding country, when viewed from this height. The eye glances over an amphitheatre of about sixty miles in circumference. On the left, Cape Bon and the village of Soliman, the high and curious mountains of Hamam-Leef, at the foot of which are the celebrated mineral springs so often visited by the Romans—the extensive bay of Tunis, with the shipping and fortress of the Goletta, the lake and city; to the right, the village of Ariana, and the gulf and town of Porto Farina, below the ruins and site of Carthage—the vast plain on which stood the suburbs of Mentracium—the clusters of olive and carob trees, here and there interspersed with a few melancholy cypress, above which are occasionally seen the Minarets of the Mosques, give a most delightful appearance to this situation—and when Carthage was in its most flourishing state, its splendid temples and extensive commerce, surrounded as it was with numerous villages and tributary towns, must have truly been the first city in the world—and it is much to be lamented that so beautiful a country, with a soil and climate fruitful and salubrious, should continue at this day in the power of barbarians.

The only remains of Carthage yet in a perfect state, are the cisterns which supplied the city with water; these cisterns are of astonishing beauty, and form a row of cells or caverns, each of which are about eighty feet in length, twenty in breadth, and twelve in depth. These cisterns are built in an oval form, with great neatness—they were plastered with a cement which has become hardened by time, and the water this day in them is perfectly sweet; at the extremity or entrance, small temples were built, and the aqueduct which supplied them, brought the water

fifty miles from Zowan—the ruins of the aqueduct are visible, and can easily be traced the whole distance. The enterprise and industry of the work has never since been exceeded.

Below the hill, near the sea, there are remains of an extensive mole, which the gradual approach of the sea has covered ; there are sufficient ruins, however, to justify the belief that it was a most extensive work ; large, square masses of stone, of which the mole was built, are seen in two or three feet water, and some have been found with large iron rings affixed in them, to which the cables have been attached.

The whole of Carthage, which is rugged and uneven, is covered with ruins—foundations of houses, cisterns, and caverns, giving at once an idea of its nature and extent. Our party, after two or three hours fatiguing labour in exploring the various curiosities, returned to the cisterns.

It was mid-day, and the sun was rather oppressive, we entered the subterraneous passage, seated ourselves on the margin of one of the curious and highly finished reservoirs, and partook of a cold collation. Our friend Humbert, full of gayety and classic wit, enlivened the time with historical anecdotes and local descriptions. We drank to the memory of Eneas and Dido, Scipio, Hannibal, and General Washington. Humbert sang a spirited ballad of his own composing, relative to Carthage, to Dido, Sophonisba, and its warriors. When will time draw to a conclusion ? What limits can we assign to the preservation of historical facts ? We ascended from the cisterns, and turned towards the high cape, where once the citadel of Byrsa stood, where, towering and majestic, arose the splendid temple of Esculapius. We saw no remains of it ; we looked in vain for the nine hundred deserters who, under the command of Asdrubal, entrenched themselves in this temple ; we saw not the trembling traitor, suing to Scipio for pardon, nor beheld the crackling flames of the temple, nor the bold and admirable Sophonisba, who fired the dome, and plunged with herself and children, into the burning gulf ; we saw not the perfidious wretch who betrayed his country ; the sight of the triple wall could not be discovered, and Marius no longer was seen, in ferocious despair, cursing his wayward fortune. The silence of death prevailed, and here and there, at a great distance, the white turban of the super-

stitious Mussulman, proclaimed the master of this desert. This silence was only interrupted by the humming of the locust, and the occasional shout of the Janizary, who, on the beach below, paced to and fro on guard. Every thing denoted a country once great and flourishing, now ruined and decayed; once free and enlightened, now plunged in ignorance and slavery.

The causes assigned for the decline and fall of this great republic, are just and reasonable; other republics should take warning; and our country, discreet and prudent, should be ever guarded against the same fatal course—should be vigilant in preventing the adoption of any measure calculated, even remotely, to lead to the same issue. Polybius and Aristotle, both men of great observation and worth, have clearly stated the causes which led to the destruction of Carthage: it was a sordid desire for gain, which laid the foundation for its ruin; it was a demoralizing cupidity which hurried every noble feeling, and cancelled the obligations of honour and patriotism. “No species of gain,” says the excellent historian, “was considered as dishonourable by the Carthagenians, and scruples never intervened to check an evil so threatening to the public weal.” Aristotle has also some excellent observations on the government of Carthage, which all other governments should seriously note:—“There were two glaring defects,” says he, “very contrary to the wishes or intentions of a wise legislator, and highly detrimental to sound policy. The first of these, was the *confirming of many places in the same person*, which custom is extremely prejudicial to the public good. When a man has but one employment, he is thereby the better able to execute his duty, being more at liberty to examine the affairs of office, and expedite them with greater celerity. Is it not seen in the field, as well as in navigation, that one officer does not command two different corps, nor one pilot manage two ships? On the one hand, the good of the state requires an excitement to emulation amongst persons of merit: let favours be equally divided, but when places are multiplied in the same person, a distinction so unjust must ever excite in the community the most lively sentiments of jealousy, envy, and disgust.

“The second defect in the Carthaginian government was, that to attain certain offices, it was not deemed necessary to possess merit, but absolutely to be blest with interest and fortune. This was indeed a most serious evil: for why should virtue be considered as

superfluous, and money estimated beyond every thing else? Because it served to mislead for private ends. Thus the admiration and thirst for riches governed the country, and held the reigns of government, corrupting its magistrates and judges, and introducing bribery to obtain honours and places of trust, which, when once possessed, conceiving themselves at liberty to repay the iniquitous sums expended to gain their wishes, they at once gave way to a system of the most shameful corruption!" This true account, and the judicious maxims, will have full force and effect with present governments.

In the examination of these ruins, great difficulty exists to establish the site of the Cothon, or small island, on which the naval arsenals were erected, and around which Carthaginian galleys were moored; and it is somewhat extraordinary that this spot cannot be satisfactorily identified, as the Carthaginians were celebrated for their navy, and with it long held the command of the Mediterranean. Strabo, who is very particular in his descriptions, says, "that Carthage, encompassed on all sides with walls, occupies a peninsula three hundred stadia in circumference, which is joined to the main land by an isthmus sixty stadia in breadth. In the centre of the city rose a hill, on which was erected a citadel, called Byrsa. On the summit of this citadel was seen a temple, consecrated to Esculapius, and the declivity of the hill was covered with houses. The harbours are at the foot of Byrsa, *as well as the small circular island called Cothon, around which the ships formed a circle.*" This description is minute, no person can mistake the hill on which the citadel was erected, and below which he must look for the Cothon. Nothing, however, is to be seen, which answers the description, in magnitude and extent, of the naval depot. It is true, that a very small island, scarce one hundred yards in circumference, is to be seen, and which by many is considered the Cothon; but, in the first place, it is too small, even to have contained one building; and, secondly, it is not twenty feet from the shore. Now, the Cothon must have been an island surrounded by water, of a sufficient depth to have contained the galleys, and this could not have been the place; for, it is conceded by several historians, that Carthage is a loser to the sea upwards of three furlongs, as ruins are to be seen, when the water is clear, to a considerable depth, particularly to the south-east; this small island joins the shore, and it is reasonable

to conclude, that the original Cothon is now covered with water, if another site is not pointed out as a suitable place on which to have erected the Cothon. Carthage was built upon a peninsula; this takes in the place called *El Mersa*, that is, the part to the north of Cape Carthage, and pursues its course, taking in the Lake of Tunis. *Livy* contends, that Carthage was 23 miles in circuit, and twelve from Tunis. They calculated the distance at that period from the citadel, (as we do from the City-Hall,) this would make just twelve miles; but, it is reasonable to infer from the population of Carthage, its great importance, and the well known extensive suburbs of Mēdracium, that the city at least covered seven miles in length, if in circumference it was twenty-three, for the peninsula is narrow; this would bring the village of Tunis within four or five miles of the extreme barrier of Carthage, passing by the Goletta, and bordering on the Lake. We are warranted in believing this, because foundations of walls and houses are yet to be seen, and at *Ariana*, three miles from Tunis, very curious and extensive ruins yet exist. The Lake of Tunis, the ancient *Stagnum*, is four miles in length, and is separated from the bay by a narrow strip of land, and a canal, in ancient times, united the waters. This canal is now in fine order. Half way up the Lake is an island, on which a low castle is erected, and used as a Lazaretto. Pursuing an hypothesis—why should this island not be the celebrated Cothon? I am aware that this opinion is at variance with the historians, but many have written without being on the spot, depending on the representation of others. If we are to suppose, according to Strabo, that the Cothon was at the foot of Byrsa, then the galleys would not only have been exposed to danger from the sea, but could have been easily set on fire by the enemy. In this broad Lake there formerly was seven feet water, few of the light barks and galleys drew more; the suburbs of the city, ran on the margin of the Lake, and the galleys, when once they had entered, were safe from every peril. Taking, therefore, its fine position into consideration, its connexion with the city, there is reason to believe that the Carthaginians could not have been insensible to its good points for a naval depot. On the borders of the canal, and under the protection of the Castle of the Goletta, the Bey of Tunis has formed an excellent basin, in which his fleet now lies.

From the elevation on which we stood, near the cisterns, we saw the direction of the great aqueduct which conveyed water to

the city ; it was destroyed by the Vandals ; the broken arches, and confused masses of stone, were visible for several miles over the plain. It passed by Ariana ; some of the arches, seventy feet high, are yet preserved ; the channel through which the water flowed, is near six feet in depth, and three feet in width ; the aqueduct, struck through the mountain, crossed the road, about four miles beyond the Palace of Bardo, and so on, to a place called *Zowan*, where the spring is situated, and further yet, to *Zungar*, where a more copious stream of water is to be found. The distance to which this aqueduct extended from Carthage, is fifty miles ; an idea will therefore be formed, of the extent and magnitude of the work, which is a surprising instance of durability and industry. At both these springs, temples were erected, and are yet, in part, preserved ; they were dedicated to the river gods, as well as to Hercules, Minerva, and Diana, and were built in the Corinthian order ; that at *Zungar*, had the following mutilated inscription :

Ro—sII—Tot—v—q DIVIN.
 DOM—vs CIVIT—s ZV—H—A
 FECIT E DED—AVIT.

Near the foot of the hill are several subterranean chambers, which Lady Montague called the chambers of the Elephants ; though she could not believe that they were used for that purpose. She was very right ; it would have been difficult to have got the elephants into these chambers, which were, doubtless, used as granaries. Some Bedouins had pitched their tents near them, and a few poor persons had converted these chambers into dwellings, damp and miserable, and here they daily turned up the earth with a stick, to search for coins and medals, pieces of tessalated pavements, and mosaics, and earned a scanty subsistence by selling them to the Christians at Tunis. I purchased an antique, of a very fine chafracter, which is still in my possession. It is a Sardonica stone, of a pale yellow, on which a Numidian warrior is exquisitely cut ; he is on horseback, without bridle or stirrups, but with a spear, shield, and helmet. It is in excellent preservation, and the whole is executed with wonderful spirit and delicacy.—An Italian merchant in Tunis, purchased, for a mere trifle, of a Bedouin, a small cornelian, on which is cut a Neptune in a car, drawn by four horses, which is the wonder of the age, and the

admiration of every person who has seen it ; the vigour and spirit of the horses, delicate in their proportions, and introduced with so much effect, in a small compass, is beyond the power of description. The owner has been offered \$4000 for this precious relic. Many Roman and Punic coins are found at Carthage, particularly a gold, silver, and copper coin, improperly called a Dido, having a head of Ceres on one side, and on the reverse a wheat sheaf, or the head of a horse. Many copper coins of Constantine are found, together with earthen vases, made of the finest and most smooth clay, burnt red ; with sepulchral lamps, containing mottos and allegorical devices.

This day was agreeably and profitably spent, and towards evening we returned to Tunis. From the foot of the three hills on which Carthage was erected, it is an uninterrupted level or plain, until we reach the city ; to the left we pass along the borders of the lake, and the eye to the right is fixed on the Gulf of Porta Farina ; the width of the peninsula, in some parts, does not exceed two miles. There are but few straggling houses on this plain, and some Bedouin tents were pitched, made out of coarse hair, near which stood a well of brackish water, where a flock of camels were drinking. We entered the gates of Tunis as the Mussulmen, from the Minarets of their Mosques, proclaimed the going down of the sun.

About this period, another singular revolution took place, which marked, at once, the ferocious character of the people, and the instability of the government. I have spoken of Sidi Yusef, the Sapatapa, who was first brought forward by Hamouda Pacha, and attained the highest offices through his indulgent confidence.— This man, who was a compound of cruelty, artifice and fraud, was peculiarly annoying to the Christian states. His long experience made him familiar with every kind of public business, and the Bey placed in his hands the power of concluding all treaties and negotiating for their stipulations. Through this channel of villany and extortion, most of the treaties passed which exist at present with the regency, and the Sapatapa generally received a bribe equal in value to the one given to the Bey. This system of corruption was encouraged by Hamouda Pacha, who considered the wealth of his ministers as his private property, subject, at all times, to his orders ; and thus, for upwards of thirty years, the

civilized powers of Europe were compelled to continue their relations on such terms as the Bey thought proper to allow. Hamouda Pacha died in the fall of 1813, and it was suspected by poison, although the proofs were not sufficient to justify the suspicion. On the accession of Ottoman Bey to the throne, he continued in office the most prominent men in the employment of his late brother, fully satisfied that the power and tranquillity of the kingdom was attributed to their judicious policy. Inexperienced in public affairs, and possessing none of those great acquirements for which Hamouda Pacha was distinguished, he permitted the Sapatapa to exercise unlimited power. This weakness and submission to the control of an intriguing and despicable chief, laid the foundation for his ruin. The Sapatapa, with all his wealth and power, was still a slave, and that, even to him, high in authority, and boundless in riches, was still "a bitter draught." It was therefore rumoured, that the revolution, which terminated in the death of Ottoman Bey, was organized by the Sapatapa, as the present Bey, Mahmoud, gave him his liberty, and his daughter in marriage, which, doubtless, was the price of his services in that bloody affair. The power and influence of Sidi Yusef was then at its height; Mahmoud knew less of public affairs than his predecessor, his life had been passed in retirement, his two sons, though ambitious, were yet unacquainted with the kingdom over which they had acquired a control. The Sapatapa wielded the sceptre in the name of Mahmoud, who was but a shadow of a king, and being satisfied of his imbecility, he conceived the plan of forming another revolution, murdering the Bey and all his family, to place himself on the throne, and establish an elective government, on the same plan as that of Algiers, with which power he contemplated making peace. The plan conceived, the Sapatapa took measures to set it in operation; he gained over to his views the chief of the Janizaries, who guarded the principal gate of the palace, and arrangements were made to commence the work of destruction on a particular night. The apartments of the Sapatapa faced the wall, and in one of these apartments a light was to be burning, when the revolutionists, who had been prepared for the event at Tunis, arrived under the walls, the signal was to have been given by throwing small stones against the casement, and the Sapatapa, armed with his slaves, was to have attacked the Bey in his chamber, while the insurgents from without mastered

the guards. The conspiracy, however, was discovered, doubtless through the infidelity of some one concerned, and the Bey resolved to rid himself of a dangerous officer, by 'despatching the Sapatapa ; and in carrying this plan into execution, the art and hypocrisy of the Turkish character, their deep and cold-blooded policy, was more than strikingly manifested.

The Sapatapa had apartments in the palace, and his employments and influence rendered it necessary that he should always be near the person of the Bey. He was also accustomed to spend his evenings with the Bey, or with his two sons. The evening upon which the Bey decided he should be killed, he passed with the family, and for a long time was earnestly engaged in playing a game of chess with the son, Hassan Bey. After conversing on public affairs some time, he rose, ordered a small lamp to be lighted, for the purpose of crossing the court yard to his apartments, and bade the family good night. As he was about entering the door of his apartment, one of the guards informed him that the Bey wished to speak to him, and on turning back to retrace his steps, he had occasion to pass a large hall, fronting the hall of justice ; into this hall his guide conducted him, where, to his astonishment, he saw several Mamelukes standing with drawn swords ; on the floor was a long cord, generally used for strangling, and several waxed candles were ranged, so as to throw a distinct light on what was passing. As he entered, the Bach Mameluke, or captain, attempted to seize him, when instantly suspecting the design, he stepped back, and drew from his belt an *ataghan*, or small sword, with which he struck the captain across the cheek, and being then assailed by the Mamelukes, he defended himself bravely ; being overpowered, they seized him, held him down by the beard, and in this position cut his throat. After his death, the Bey ordered him to be stript, and carried into Tunis, and laid before a magnificent mosque, which he had built at an expense of near a million of dollars. Such, however, was the obnoxious character of the Sapatapa, that the mob seized him, and tying a chain to his body, dragged him around the walls and through the streets of Tunis, cut the flesh from his bones, and with a characteristic ferocity, cruelly mangled the remains of a man of whom they had long stood in the utmost awe. The Bey seized upon his property, which was said to amount to near two millions of dollars, and very coolly appointed a successor.

From the terrace of my house, which overlooked the walls of the city, I saw the tumultuous assemblage, dragging this unfortunate minister, with shrieks and howlings, through the mud, and over rocks and stones, cutting deep gashes in his flesh, and with a ferocious barbarity, separating his limbs. Here was a reverse of fortune ! here was a sad proof of the instability of power, and a melancholy lesson to persons in temporary authority in Barbary, admonishing justice to all, honour, good faith, and mildness to our fellow men. The officer, who but a few days past, I had conversed with on public affairs, of whose hospitality I had partaken, whose hands were kissed by kneeling and trembling slaves, lay a mass of blood and mangled flesh before me, naked and disfigured, the rights of sepulture denied him, and his bones bleaching in the sun ; such is the fate of a sanguinary ambition, when evinced among barbarians.

Intelligence that an American privateer had entered the Mediterranean, soon reached Malta, Sicily, and from thence to Gibraltar ; the utmost consternation prevailed ; gun brigs, frigates, and two line of battle ships, were ordered by Admiral Penrose, at Malta, to scour the coasts, and chase the daring intruder out of the Straits. Insurance between Gibraltar and Malta rose to ten per cent. In the mean time the *Abëllino*, made the complete circuit of the Mediterranean, entered the Adriatic, looked into Smyrna, then down to Marseilles, then over to Tripoli, and from thence to Tunis ; every day chased by some British vessel of war, and outsailing them with ease, permitting each vessel to approach so near, as to distinguish her character, and then bearing away, and leaving her in a short time out of sight. In the course of this cruise, she made a number of prizes and prisoners, some were given up, others ransomed, some recaptured, and others sent in. Coming out of the Adriatic, captain Wyer captured a fine coppered brig, laden with currants, from Trieste, and while taking possession of her, another vessel hove in sight, on which, he bore down, and captured her ; finding his prisoners increased, he manned the brig, and gave up the last vessel captured, on board of which he put his prisoners. Being pressed for time, he made sail, but was scarcely out of sight, when the cartel schooner gave chase to the captured brig, came up and retook her, put the Americans in the boat, and set them adrift. This was a base act, contrary to the laws of war ; the Americans, ten in number, landed in Cagliari,

duty to claim their value, in the name of the owners, from his excellency the Bey. I beg leave to assure you, that the relations existing between the government of Tunis, and the United States, have always been maintained in the most friendly manner, and that a sincere disposition has been manifested, to increase, rather than diminish this friendship ; I am, therefore, induced to hope, that in the case of these two vessels, his excellency will cause their value to be made good to their owners, as well as to afford security, for any vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, which may hereafter enter the harbour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

The Minister of Marine received the foregoing, and sent for me. I dont understand your meaning, Consul, said he, I am sorry that your vessels have been taken away, but what can we do to redress the injury ? Why sir, simply, by paying their value. You guarantee the safety of our vessels, while in your harbour, by treaty ; if you permit the English to take our property from us, while under your protection, you must answer for it. A long and warm argument ensued ; the minister ridiculed the idea of paying for these vessels, contending, that we had been in the habit of paying them for their friendship and forbearance, and this accident, which they could not prevent, they would not answer for. I left him with the assurance, that the claim should be enforced, not so much for the value of these vessels, as to satisfy the English that we were not disposed to suffer from their violation of our rights, and the rights of powers acknowledged by them as independent. At this period the *Abellino* had taken shelter in Tripoli, and was there blockaded by a brig of war, and I waited until her release, to obtain particulars of this reprisal.

While our affairs remained in a tranquil, but unsettled state, I took occasion to visit the town, and to examine the mode of living, the habits, customs, and pursuits of these people. The city of Tunis is built on a plain, at the head of the lake, and its position has not been judiciously chosen ; behind it are several elevations and hills, from which a fine view of the surrounding country is had, and which would have been a more appropriate site, for health, and a commanding situation. A wall of slight materials surrounds the city, which has six gates ; a strong fortress, called

El Gaspa, built by Charles the Fifth, and enlarged by John of Austria, commands the town in every direction, near which two other forts are erected, and on some hills, near the city, one or two close and strangled forts are also thrown up. On the wall towards the north, some good brass pieces are mounted, and the circumference of the city does not exceed five miles.

Tunis contains about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, thirty thousand of which are Jews; the streets are so narrow, that in many of them, four persons can scarcely walk abreast, they are not paved, and are filthy in the extreme; the houses are built of mud, white washed, nearly all of one story, with a terrace, on which the inhabitants walk, and frequently sleep. In the centre of the town, the Bey is building a palace, the architecture of which is very heavy; some of the chambers, however, are splendidly furnished. There are two or three spacious Mosques, finished with marble, found among the ruins of Carthage and Utica, and two or three private houses, which are worth visiting. Under the palace, a range of stores or shops is erected, these are narrow, yet lively, and contain fine goods. Most of the shops in Tunis are like closets, in which the owner sets cross-legged, with his few articles before him; and to exclude the rays of the sun, the streets are covered with vaulted roofs, which gives to them an appearance of subterranean passages, under which, artists and mechanics expose their goods for sale, and here they meet in considerable numbers, thickly clad, the heat suffocating, the air excluded, and disease could be engendered and circulated without difficulty. A canal, containing all the filth of the city, runs under the northern and eastern wall, the odour from which is insufferable—in fact, the salubrity of the air, which is also rendered more pure by the aromatic herbs, burnt in their baths, is the only preventive to contagious disorders. Take the city altogether, it is mean and filthy, the beautiful country in the vicinity, alone renders a residence even tolerable.

The kingdom of Tunis is bounded on the west by Algiers, on the south-east by Tripoli, and on the north-east by the Mediterranean sea. It is about three hundred miles in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, which reaches the mountains, separating the kingdom from *Il-gerid*, or the country of dates. The climate is the finest in the world, nothing can be more gentle, soft and salu-

brious ; the heats of summer are tempered by the cool northern breezes, and the air in winter, though sharp, is nevertheless bracing and healthy. Epidemic disorders are unknown, and the plague never prevails, unless it is introduced ; consequently, for climate, this northern part of Africa may be considered as unrivalled.—The soil has been celebrated for centuries—it was the granary of the world, considered as the precious gem of the republic, and *Mauritania Tingitania Cesariensis*, was called by Vitensis, “ *Speciositas totius terræ florentis*. The fertility of the soil is incredible, the ground is so soft and pliable, so rich and fruitful, that it may be ploughed with a hard stick, and will produce every thing, without much labour, attention, or manure. The seed is thrown negligently in the earth, and a fruitful crop is produced without care ; yet such is the oppression of the government, that immense tracts of land remain uncultivated, their anti-commercial spirit is ever hostile to agriculture, and the price required to export a caffice of wheat, generally equals the sum for which it can be purchased ; hence it seldom happens that the same fields are cultivated two successive seasons, except it is in the environs of Tunis, where it can be brought to market at a small expense. The kitchen and flower gardens, near the city, and at Marsa, are objects of great curiosity. Here are produced, at a very small cost, and with little skill, cabbages, cauliflowers, turnips, onions, garlic, sallad, lettuce, cellery, leeks, beans, peas, lentiles, raddishes, carrots, asparagus, spinnage, artichokes, cucumbers, peppers, &c. and these, in great abundance. Potatoes have also been planted, and have succeeded well with some attention. Fruits, are choice and abundant, such as figs, pomgranates, plums, nectarines, apples, pears, peaches, red and white mulberries, some strawberries, raised with care, lemons, limes, oranges, citrons, dates, cherries, apricots, prickly pear, melons of every description, quinces, and several kinds of rich grape, almonds and pistache nuts ; sugar cane, tobacco, cotton, and coffee, also thrives ; the produce of every climate seems to be centered in this delightful region, over which barbarians have control ; the country abounds in flowers, roses grow wild, the ranunculus, narcissus, pinks, and jassmine, are cultivated in gardens, and the country abounds in aromatic herbs, and curious plants. Cattle are small, very plenty, but poorly fed ; the sheep are generally the broad tailed, which are considered a delicacy, the lamb is small, and exceedingly tender. Game is to be had in great

abundance, and the sportsman's labour is so light, as to lose its attractions ; pigeons are uncommonly large and cheap, red-legged partridges, wood-cocks, snipes, quails, geese, ducks, wild and tame, plover, teal, thrush, larks, linnets, and a small delicate bird, called *Becca figs*, are found in great plenty, and beyond the walls of the city, there is also a peculiar bird, called the Carthage fowl, which is nearly as large as a common hen. Hares and rabbits are in great abundance. I have seen the drogaman of the Neapolitan Consul, start a hare on the road to Carthage, and run him down on his fine Arabian horse. From the immense quantities of fine hard wheat, bread is very plenty, white and cheap, and great quantities of sweet oil is made. There is several kinds of fish caught at Bizerta, and fine-mullets at the Goletta. From these bounteous gifts of Providence, an idea may be formed of this beautiful country, which, in every thing but its inhabitants, is pleasing to the eye and grateful to the sense, desirable as a place of residence, and would be most valuable and most easy of acquisition to any civilized nation. The kingdom abounds in metals ; iron and lead, have been found in abundance, and some copper, but the people are averse to exploring the earth, their religious prejudices operates against enterprise and useful discoveries ; the chain of Atlas abounds in gold and silver, and was found by the ancients. An application was made to Hamouda Pacha, to open these mines, which, with his usual sagacity, he refused, saying, that he had sufficient for all his wants, and felt no desire to awaken the cupidity of Christian powers. Immense quantities of minerals are also found ; and a fruitful field would be open to the naturalist and philosopher, to explore the animal, mineral, and botanical kingdoms. The country, however, is not favourable to the growth of timber, which is always a profitable article ; there are some oaks, many tall cypress, and the lotus tree, besides the celebrated palm.

Animals of all kinds are abundant in Barbary. The cow, which with us is so useful and domesticated, is much neglected in this kingdom, and are so indifferently fed, that they seldom give milk ; goats are to be had in great numbers, they give a fine rich milk, and the Arabs bring butter to market, which they make in skins. Much has been said and written about the horse, which in this kingdom once equalled the Arabian, but is now much neglected. This arises from the oppressive course pursued by the Bey ; he

has an officer, whose duty it is to examine all horses, and when any of a fine character or description is found, he takes the animal from the owner without ceremony, and pays him whatever price he pleases ; no care is therefore bestowed upon the breed of horses, because there is no guarantee for the safety of a man's property. There are some, however, of a noble appearance, a large, fiery, and piercing eye, a flowing tail and mane, and a majestic pace.—The treatment of a horse in Barbary, has a tendency also to harden him, and render him insensible to fatigue or climate. They are bound by the feet, and suffered to remain in the open air, exposed to the rays of the sun, and submitting to the injurious vicissitudes of climate, and fed only once a day, with a scanty portion of barley. They use a powerful and painful bit, which has an iron ring, running under the chin of the horse, which, when reined up with force, covers his mouth with a foam of blood. A Mameluke with his high back saddle, short and wide stirrups, charges and fires his pistols on a full gallop, stops his horse in an instant, and with a peculiar evolution and adroitness, turns him from any dangerous place, rushes up within a pace of a wall, and checks the horse at the moment when we believe that both animals are on the eve of having their brains dashed out. Outside of the walls, and leading towards the lake, a level piece of ground, of nearly half a mile in length, is used for the exercise and running of horses, which is a common custom among the Turkish guards. I have frequently been annoyed when riding, accompanied by my drogaman, and overtaken by a troop of the flying cavalry, which would pass me like lightning, and seduce my horse into their company, who, being an old trooper, defied my efforts to keep him out of the ranks. They use a long spur, which they thrust furiously in the side of the horse, and I have viewed these noble animals with sympathy, after a fleet contest, their heads hanging down, their eye full of fire, their mouths and sides covered with blood, and their full flowing mane and tails, tipped with a red dye, extracted from herbs. They break them into what is called a Barbary rack, by a singular process : around their hoofs they place a circular piece of lead, covered with leather, a cord of sufficient length is attached from the hind to the fore feet, and another cord is suspended from each side of the saddle, and fastened to the cord securing the feet ; the animal cannot take a wider step than the cord will permit, and he soon acquires a shuffling ungraceful gait, which, nevertheless, is easy and

pleasant, it wears down the horse, and renders him very thin in the process. I had three bays, two large and one small, they were all used for the saddle, as it is not customary for horses to draw carriages. The mules are a valuable and excellent breed, very scarce and high, a good mule cannot be purchased for less than a first rate horse; they are a most useful animal, sure footed, patient, and carrying a heavy load. The small boricoes are very common and cheap.

There is no animal in Barbary of so much utility in every respect as the camel. Formed in the most uncouth and unsightly manner, the ugliest, yet the most innocent and inoffensive of animals, he is a rich gift of Providence to the wandering Arab. He is used on all occasions, kneels down patiently to receive his load, of which he carries an immense weight, his movements are slow and sure; he can abstain from food and drink for several days, laying in a stock, which enables him, without feeling the cravings of hunger, to pass the desert in safety. Their milk is nourishing, their flesh is eaten, when food is not to be had by the wandering tribes, their hair used for clothing; ever patient, persevering, and faithful, they are worthy of that veneration and respect which is paid them by Mussulmen.

The Barbary States have not many quadrupeds, the country being open, they are only found in the neighbourhood of the mountains. The wild boar is common, and is hunted by the Arab, but the flesh is not eaten; lions and hyenas have also been taken, and many of the sleek and nimble-footed antelope.

The ostrich, which is a very valuable bird, is found in great numbers, particularly in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and the feathers is a profitable article of trade. They keep together in flocks, and are hunted in a very curious manner: they are driven against the wind, and their strength soon fails them; they are shot and some taken alive. I remember once visiting the Bey's country house at Manuba, and on opening a door leading into the garden, I put my head cautiously in, when a large ostrich, standing behind the gate, made a dash at my face with his long neck and strong bill, and was very near taking my nose off. They are a beautiful bird.

Owing to the many ruins and subterranean passages in this country, together with a thin population, reptiles and insects are

found in great numbers ; the most common and dangerous of which is the scorpion. This reptile, seldom longer than six inches, makes his appearance about the month of July, particularly in houses and beds, great caution being necessary to prevent danger. It is erroneously believed that his sting is mortal ; no instances are known, where death ensued from its bite ; it is, however, very painful for about twenty-four hours, and produces a fever. The inhabitants are in great dread of the scorpion, and boys are employed to hunt them, which they do with torches in the evening, as they take up their abode in houses and under old walls, and those who seek for coins at Carthage and Utica, generally turn up the fragments with a stick, for fear that under them a scorpion may lay nestling. A friend informed me, that hearing so much said about the virulence of its poison, he determined to try an experiment, which he did, by placing one of them in a small case with a glass top, in which two good sized mice were put, the youngest of which, being first attacked by the scorpion, was repeatedly struck, and after suffering great pain, whirled round and died. From this moment the scorpion did not offer to touch him, but mounting on the carcass, he remained in a menacing attitude ; the other mouse was much frightened, and endeavoured to avoid his antagonist, but being pushed forward with a stick, received many blows, which he resisted ; but whether the scorpion lost its venom, or the mouse being old, did not partake of the poison as readily as the other, he knew not, but he survived the contest. It is incredible with what force the scorpion would dart his sting : when the blow was well applied, the hair of the mouse remained attached to it. When the mice were taken from the box, the dead one was thrown to the cats, but they refused to touch it, the other they killed, but would not eat ; generally speaking, the mouse gets the better of the scorpion, for being nimble, he avoids his blows, and, consequently, the poison is exhausted elsewhere, and the mouse, who bites hard, kills him, but not without suffering cruelly himself, and is generally bloated with the venom. It is astonishing how difficult it is to kill the scorpion, except it is by violence ; they will live an hour or two in spirits of wine and camphor, they are preserved in this way. It is said that the cameleons, which are numerous in Barbary, and the scorpion, are deadly enemies, and fight with great fury. The cats destroy them with wonderful dexterity—they avoid their sting and crush them with their claws. It is quite

the contrary with the dogs, which, when bitten, run about howling, and are generally killed as mad.

Having glanced thus hastily at the soil and productions of Barbary, and particularly in the kingdom of Tunis, it will be necessary to take a view of the character and customs of the inhabitants.

One of the most extraordinary features in the domestic and political policy of these people, is their religion, which has cemented them together by the most indissoluble ties, extended and strengthened their power, kept alive their hopes, renovated them under misfortune, and has given stability and character to their institutions, and by its singular doctrines and anti-social provisions, they have to this day exercised a jurisdiction over the finest portion of the globe.

The country in which this remarkable religion first originated, is of itself a curiosity; bears a most singular and peculiar character, and is calculated to give existence to a strange compound of forms and ceremonies. The Israelites of old, who dwelled on the borders of the Euphrates, pursued a pastoral life, which the simplicity and truth of their faith, contributed to render equally simple and happy. They lived under a government of their own, and from remote periods, they boasted of laws which civilized nations of the present day are proud to acknowledge and obey. While this chosen few remained civilized in barbarous ages, and were polite and hospitable even when surrounded by the sands of the desert, the Arabs of Asia, wild and wandering, swarmed over Syria and Egypt, and coursed the borders of the Nile, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. These savages could not "crib themselves in cities," their home was on the mountains and on the plains, their rich and poetic language was the chain of union, their spears, scimitars, and bow were used for defence and subsistence, their fiery coursers, which "pawed the valley," were their pride and glory. Thus wild and uncultivated, proud and hardy, they increased in numbers, divided themselves into tribes, overran Asia and Africa, and possessed a character suitable to great enterprises.

The Jewish kingdoms were divided, weakened, and fell. Christianity was established, sects were created, and persecution encouraged. The Arabs kept aloof, their eloquent language, their

proud independence, their native vigour and truth, rendered them a people which cultivation could not fail making powerful and refined, a leader was only wanted, a man capable of moulding these great materials into a fixed and durable form, that man in the seventh century arose, and in the person of Mahomet was centred all the qualities necessary to constitute a great and efficient leader. A soldier and a statesman, illustrious by birth, energetic by nature, and refined by education, he formed the vast design of establishing a new religion, of bringing these wandering hordes under his control, and forming a distinct kingdom, of which he was to be the supreme head and prophet. After a life of experience and study, when the fire of youth was allayed by the cold calculations of wisdom and experience, in his 40th year he commenced the great work. He gathered round him, a few followers, to whom he intrusted the object of his mission; he had, however, to combat with prejudices. His purpose, as far as it related to the destruction of a vile idolatry, was correct, he fancied that the mild and persuasive tenets of Christianity would never acquire strength or circulation; he saw the Jews destined to be preserved, yet too weak in numbers to constitute a powerful nation; he established a distinct religion, which was a mixture of Jewish and Christian doctrines, pure as to fundamental principles, but corrupt and despotic, in consequence of additional forms, ceremonies, and superstitious rites, all of which he enforced, by means of strong temporal power. His Koran was the wonderful engine by which he secured and wielded unlimited jurisdiction. It is a singular compound of ignorance and assurance, of eloquence and deception, of truth and fiction; yet, had he not died at Mecca, his religion would never have been established;—living prophets have never succeeded in establishing, permanently, a new religion. One principle of Mahomet gained him every thing—he never trusted to reason or philosophy, his tenets were not mild or persuasive, he found it necessary to give to wild men a wild religion, terror was his weapon, proselytes were made by the sword, he gave to conquered nations but one alternative, death, or the Moslem faith. “Fight against them,” said he in his Koran, “who believe not in God, and what his Apostle has forbidden.” This Koran, and the sword entwined, passed over Asia, Africa, and a part of Europe like a pestilence, which bowed to the earth the rebellious and refractory; and a few centuries of revolution and carnage, brought millions under the banners of the pro-

phet, and the abject dominion of his faith. The hope of Paradise, the rewards hereafter, the dazzling promises made by Mahomet, in relation to futurity, was another powerful impulse to strengthen and extend his faith ; it was founded on tyranny, an indulgence in sensualities, a sickening despotism—it gave full reins to passion, to revenge and intolerance, and the Arabs readily adopted it—he founded a kingdom of assassins, which existed for centuries, exhibited at times, virtues of the highest order, gallantry and talents, but ever despotic, and frequently cruel ; the kingdom prospered, the Caliphs added lustre to it, it rose, flourished, decayed, and will not be long before it falls, like other religions and kingdoms, founded on cruelty and intolerance. It was the people professing this faith in all its primitive dogmas, among whom I was now residing, and whose character I was about to examine. The Koran is the foundation of the Mahomedan religion, but there are codes and pandects of this faith, which are considered as branches or commentaries. The first is the general code ; the second the *assinah*, or traditions ; the third, the inferences and deductions, which have rendered the religion complex and difficult, yet there are five fundamental articles of the law, which, if observed, establishes a claim to the character of a true believer. The *first* is cleanliness in person and garments—hence the frequent and salutary ablutions of the Turks ; the *second* is prayers three times, by some five times a day, which is rarely evaded ; the *third* is a strict observance of the monthly fast of Ramadan ; the *fourth*, to distribute alms according to their ordinances ; the *fifth* is a pilgrimage to Mecca. These are forms to be observed, independent of other rites and ceremonies, but one grand principle of faith is insisted upon, and that is, in the belief of one God, and that Mahomet was his prophet. The first building of any note in a city or conquered province, is a Mosque, for it is deemed an essential principle of the religion, never to surrender any city by capitulation to an enemy, in which Mosques have been erected ; hence the obstinate resistance made by Turks in their sieges ; and as the Moslem faith was established by the sword, so will it be destroyed by that weapon, as a true Mussulman confidently believes that Paradise will be his immediate reward, who dies by the hand of a Christian, in defending his country and religion ; hence they fight like tigers, court death in every shape, and their enemies do not war with brave and disciplined men, but with furious bigots, without order, discipline or reason.

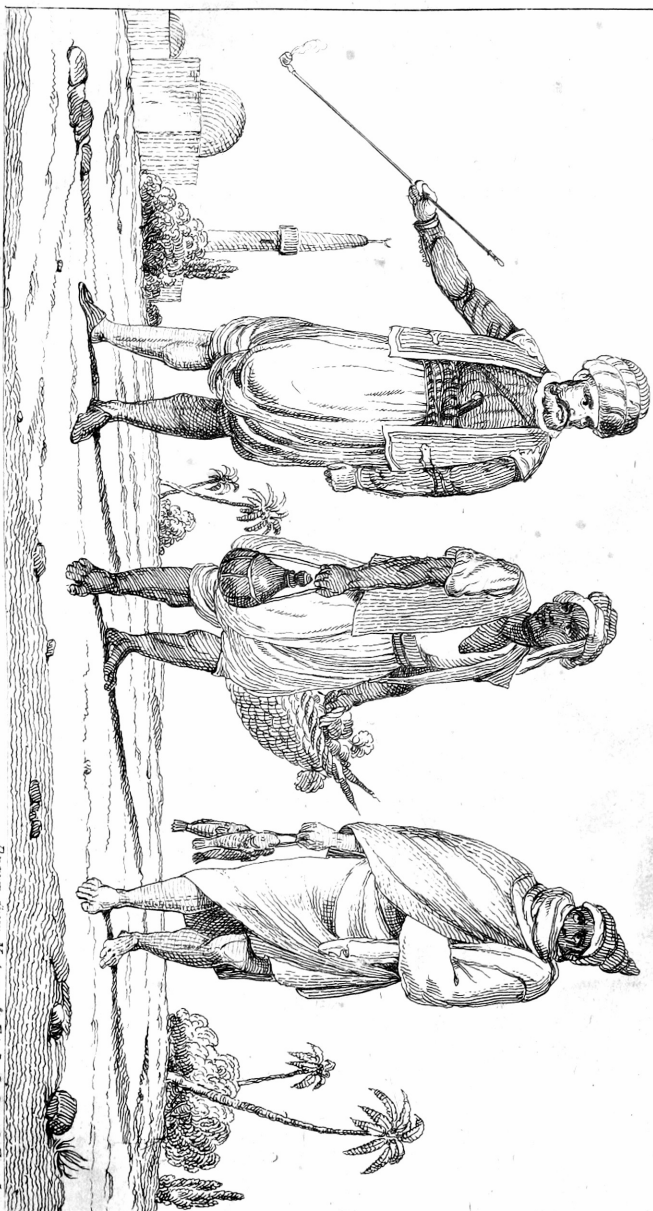
I remember once to have had occasion to remonstrate seriously with Soliman Kya, the commander in chief of the army, on the conduct of the British in that kingdom, which produced some spirited observations, and I concluded by assuring him that war would inevitably result from a violation of our treaty ; well, said he, with admirable *sang froid*, do you think we fear the Christians ? We ask nothing better than to be killed by a Christian, our happiness hereafter is then certain. There was no combatting such prejudices, and I left him. There are three or four very large Mosques in Tunis, with Minarets, besides a number of small ones ; they use no bells. At day break, at noon, and on the going down of the sun, a person ascends these Minarets, and in an audible voice calls on all true believers to come and pray. Those who do not daily visit the Mosques, never omit their prayers at home. They wash their feet and face, adjust their turban and garments, spread a strip of Turkey carpetting on the ground, on which they stand facing the east, and say their prayers, which consists of sentences from the Koran, and they occasionally prostrate themselves, touching the earth with their foreheads. The poorer class of the community, when they do not visit the Mosque, spread a sheep skin on the terrace of their houses, and go through the same ceremonies.—The extreme prejudices of these people against all other religions, renders it difficult to become acquainted with all their forms and ceremonies ; none but a Mussulman dare enter their Mosques. I have passed them when the doors were opened, and without being observed, have taken a hasty glance. They are very spacious buildings, plainly, but expensively built. A large gate opens on a square or patio, paved with marble, in the centre of which a fountain of water is invariably found, at which their ablutions are performed. From this patio, a colonnade, supported by pillars, covers the entrance to the Mosque, which is generally divided into three aisles ; the floor is covered with mats, on which the men and women indiscriminately seat themselves : most of the principal men have a rosary in their hands, but whether they say a prayer on telling each bead, or use them from habit or amusement, I cannot say. At the head of the church is a Mufti, answering in influence and character to a Bishop ; this office is generally hereditary in families. They have, besides, minor orders of Priests, and the ecclesiastical establishments, the revenue and importance of this body, does not differ from those in Catholic countries, and the Mufti

is in great repute and esteem ; he is consulted on all occasions connected with the religion or the laws, as the church has a paramount authority over the state ; his opinion is required on most political subjects, and on all local matters, and is generally binding and conclusive. The Mufti and Mussulmen Priests, are a very respectable body of men, exercising their influence in a temperate judicious manner ; placed far above the reach of want, they have no sordid desires, and the absolute devotion and respect which they must receive, induces them to be cautious in all their measures.— They have pulpits in their Mosques, and they preach in the Arabic language. I had an opportunity, on the commencement of the feast of Biram, to hear the Mufti pray at the palace, and in presence of the Bey. He lifted up both hands on each side, as high as his head, all the people doing the same, and in an audible clear tone, prayed very devout and solemnly ; I was much pleased with the manner in which the service was performed ; the Arabic language is calculated, by its sonorous, full and copious measure, for purposes of devotion.

No people on earth are so superstitious as the Turks ; they have a thousand little ceremonies and sayings, indicative of this weakness, and they believe in witches and wizards as firmly as our pious ancestors in New-England did. They still retain the Hebrew custom of sacrifices, which is observed more out of respect for their prejudices, than from religious considerations. When they place the foundation stone of a fort, they sacrifice a lamb, and sprinkle the blood on the stones, giving the flesh to the workmen ; they observe the same ceremony in launching a vessel, with this difference, that they throw the flesh into the water. The “ evil eye,” is a superstition which generally prevails ; they affix on their houses, horses, and furniture, a hand, much in the manner as we do a horse shoe, in these enlightened times ; this is a Portuguese custom, they call it a *figo* ; and at this day, we suspend around the neck of children, a small coral hand, with the thumb thrust between two fingers. Shakespeare was aware of this custom. Pistol says, “ a *figo* for thy friendship.” The Moors dread this evil eye ; they are displeased if you admire any thing about them, particularly their horses or children. I remember one day, that a child belonging to the minister of marine, was carried by my door on a mule, by a Moorish slave, I stopped to caress the child, which

was exceedingly fair, with light blue eyes, and very beautiful; the slave watched me with great uneasiness and agitation, and when released, hurried rapidly away. Five is an unlucky number, which they seldom or ever repeat; they have a veneration for serpents, and are fond of cats, but a dog is abhorred by them. In every respect, in their attachments, habits and customs, they seem to act directly the reverse of civilized nations. In these sacrifices of goats and fowls, for accidents, for building of houses, &c. they have been known to go further, and make them human. Geluli, a rich Turk, engaged in privateering, it is said, has sacrificed three negroes, at different periods, when he has buried money. This was done, under the superstitious impression, that the soul of the deceased would watch over the treasure.

The inhabitants of Barbary present a singular compound of character. Gathered on this fertile portion of the world from various parts of Asia and Europe, few of them indigenous, their habits, characters, and complexions materially differ, and Turks from the Morea and Constantinople, Moors from Spain, Negroes from beyond the desert, Bedouin Arabs from the borders of Atlas, Jews from Syria, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and Christians from several parts, but principally from France and the Tuscan States, all mix together in one body, pursuing various avocations, intent on administering to their own wants, but doing nothing for society or civilization. The *Berberi* may be considered as the original lords of the soil. They are a strange compound, descended from the Carthaginians, Romans, Numidians, and Saracens, and from this commixture of blood, they partake of the virtues and the vices of their ancestors. These men occupy in tribes the whole of Barbary, from Morocco to the Gulf of Sidra. They are tall, thin, muscular and brave, having a piercing eye, which, with uncommon large white teeth, forms a singular contrast to their sun-burnt faces and Roman features. They build mud and stone houses in the mountains, erect their tents made of goat hair; they chase the antelope, and hunt the lion with their fowling pieces; simple in their diet, which consists of bread, milk and dates, they live to a great age; mild and tolerant to friends, fierce and implacable to enemies, they maintain a ferocious independence, and may be compared to our Indians, excepting that in the *Berberi* we see a savage people descended from a civilized community, and our Indians



Drawn from Nature & Engraved by A. Durr.

MERCHANT SLAVE & ARAB.

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have been savage from the first existence of their tribes. These people will not obey the authority of the government, they are not rich, but possess large flocks and well cultivated fields. Next to them may be reckoned a more numerous, but a more simple and refined body—the Bedouin Arabs, who form the greatest portion of the population. These people continue in their primitive state; centuries have made no alteration in their habits and customs: they are at this day the same as they were in the days of Moses and the Prophets, of Strabo, Hannibal, Marius, and Genseric. Their dress is a simple robe made out of wool, thrown loosely around them in several folds, part of which is secured around their heads with a fillet of serge, some wear sandals, and their whole appearance is a type of other times, of days long since past. The Bedouin Arabs are more mild and gentle in their nature than the fierce Berberi, their complexion is a dark olive, and their eye soft and expressive; the Arabic language, which they speak in great purity, gives, when they are animated, a singular interest to their countenance. They are hardy and temperate, accustom themselves to great fatigue, and handle their gun and javelin with great dexterity; they continue in a wandering state, pitching their tent on any spot which promises a fruitful cultivation, and with their wives, children, flocks and camels, they reside there until novelty attracts them to another point. The Arab's tent is the seat of hospitality, and they practice the virtues of charity more rigidly than Mussulmen who reside in cities, and the bread and salt which you eat in the Arab's tent is an inviolable pledge of friendship and security. The pursuits of the Arabs are principally pastoral, if they join the armies in battle, they fight bravely; their wives and daughters nourish the growth of bees and the silk-worm, weave cloth for tents and clothing, and attend to their domestic concerns with cheerfulness and industry. Marriage with them does not differ in forms and ceremonies from those of the most remote antiquity. Application is made by the suitor to the father—the parties, unlike other Moslem customs, are permitted to see one another, an interchange of pastoral gifts takes place, the bride is carried in triumph to the tent of her destined husband, and her domestic duty commences. Jealousy is unknown, inconstancy unheard of, and scandal a stranger to the humble tent. Grave by nature, accustomed to reflect, an enemy to obstreperous mirth, yet fond of judicious hilarity, the Arab may be considered as the child of nature, di-

vested of the dross of luxury or the refinements of wit, tender in their sympathies, fond of legendary tales, having a taste for poetry, with numerous moral aphorisms, they are a people which civilized nations may mould into any thing good.

A considerable portion of the population are negroes, who, though they profess the Mahomedan religion, and participate in all its privileges, are, nevertheless, slaves; and it is strange, but true, that a vast slave trade is carried on in the interior of Africa. Most of the caravans of negroes which arrive on the borders of the desert, bring with them, among articles of traffic, numbers of their captives, which they sell to the Moorish traders. In many instances, parties have made incursions in the desert, surprised and carried off small parties. Those who are brought into the towns and cities, are exposed to sale perfectly naked; they are not badly treated, the adoption of the religion guarantees some acts of mildness towards them. They are a numerous body, lively and happy, yet occasionally tinged with melancholy recollections of their former liberty. The Bey has several Janizaries who are black, and a black guard for his Harem, at the head of which is a stout negro, horribly ugly. This eunuch frequently crossed me in the palace, paying me a complimentary salutation, in a voice which sounded like an infant's, muling and piping, indicative of his mutilated condition and his semi-feminine habits. Those Turks who are incorporated with the Arabs and Moors in the army, are emigrants from the dominions of the Grand Seigneur, generally of the worst characters, and prepared for any event which men of desperate fortunes imagine will advance their interest; they are found to possess a turbulent disposition and a rebellious spirit, and ever ready to maintain the superior power and authority of the Grand Seigneur. The powers of the Barbary States have gradually decreased their numbers, and they now constitute a small portion of the inhabitants, and are not to be dreaded. There are many Christians in Tunis, more than in any other part of Barbary; the attractions of commerce and allurements of gain, induces them to reside in a country isolated and wretched, where they are compelled to study the temper and bend to the caprices of men in power, where their property is liable to seizure and sequestration on the most frivolous pretexts, and where a spirit of commercial rivalry obscures the virtues and even closes the doors of hospitality. Most of the Christians at Tunis are under French protection, and live in the

French Consulate. They are eternally before the Bey settling some dispute and purchasing justice. During the existence of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, a spirit of commercial enterprise led many of our merchants to Tunis with valuable cargoes of colonial produce, with the hope of getting them into France under the Tunisian flag. There was property at one period to the amount of a million at Tunis, and the place crowded with Americans ; but such was the want of efficient protection, and the cupidity of the Tunisian government, that losses, sequestrations, and mortifications ensued ; the Americans almost abandoned, were compelled to make their own remonstrances and plead their own cause, some were imprisoned for debt and many robbed of their property ; at length Humouda Pacha forgot that there was such a country as the United States, but looked upon our citizens as a set of floating speculators or travelling pigeons, which he might pluck with impunity. Sidi Yusef, the Sapatapa, purchased American vessels illegally condemned, and sent them to Malta under Tunisian colours, where, on being seized by the owners, we were compelled to give them back or pay their value. Coffee and sugars were seized on trifling grounds, and heavy expenses and losses were incurred by the voyages. I was apprised of this before I left the United States, and determined that another state of things should prevail. I found only one American gentleman besides the Charge d'Affaires, residing in this wretched country, and he had been robbed of a fortune by the complicated intrigues of these barbarians, and for six years he was compelled to continue there, not having means to liquidate some paltry debts. My arrival was hailed by him as auspicious, and he recounted to me the wrongs which Americans had suffered for nine years past, and I determined to seize the first occasion to satisfy the Bey that such treatment must not be repeated. An opportunity soon presented itself. An Italian merchant, very much respected, by the name of Curadi, came one day into the American Consulate and informed me, that bills of exchange which he had drawn on Leghorn for twenty thousand piasters were returned protested, and that the holders were about to seize upon him and all his property, amounting to double that sum, to sacrifice his merchandise, and ruin his prospects for ever ; that his Consul, Mr. Nyssen, the Dutch Agent, being so completely in the power of the Bey, could not protect him, and in this extremity he had ventured to implore the benevolent protection of the United States, to enable him to sell his

property with credit to himself, and pay his debts honourably. I informed Mr. Curadi that it was not customary to take the subjects of another power under American protection, but if he entered the Consulate, and claimed the protection of the flag, he should have it. He then declared that he would not leave the house, as he considered it a sanctuary afforded to the unfortunate, and respected by the Tunisian authorities. I ordered an apartment to be prepared for him, and patiently awaited the approaching storm.—The Amps and Mamelukes who were sent in pursuit of Curadi, traced him to the American house, in which they dared not to enter, but proceeded to the palace to give information.

The next morning a Janizary arrived with the compliments of the Bey, requesting me to give up the Christian merchant, who was a debtor, endeavouring to defraud his creditors. I desired him to convey my respects to his highness, and inform him that he was aware that no person was ever given up, who had taken sanctuary in the American Consulate. The following day the Janizary returned with the same message, to which the same answer was given. These visits continued for several days, with no better effect, and each day augmented something insulting to the message.

Contrary to the usual custom observed among the Consuls, I seldom visited the palace, excepting on business of importance; my visits not being frequent, the Bey heard what I had to say and replied promptly. I had occasion to send the elder drogaman, Abdallah, an honest old Persian, to the palace for a permit to land a barrel of wine, which I was privileged by treaty to land without paying duty. In a short time Abdallah returned in great trepidation. Oh, my lord, said he, such a piece of business, such an unfortunate affair; he looked much alarmed, and spoke half *lingua franca*, and partly Arabic and Persian; I could with difficulty understand him, but through the assistance of Ambrosio, the chancellor, I learnt, that in crossing the patio at the palace, the Bey had perceived him, and calling him, addressed him as follows: Abdallah, I have sent for several days past to the Consul, with orders to give up that Christian; I had a good opinion of the Consul, and did think him a good man, but he knows that he has not a right to protect a debtor, (I knew to the contrary) and finding him indifferent to my orders, you may now tell him, that to-morrow I will send twenty Mamelukes into his house and cut the Christian to pieces!!

Curadi heard the message, and trembled like an aspen leaf; I lost all patience and temper at this insult. The creditors of Mr. Curadi could have settled honourably with him at my house, I was security for his person, but according to custom, they determined to seize him and all his property, sell it for what they pleased, and if they could bring him in debt, to throw him into prison for the balance. They had bribed the Bey to get him from my house, and his highness, flattering himself that I was ignorant of my rights, ventured to experiment by threats. I determined to resist them, we had arms and ammunition, and I resolved to shut all the gates and doors, hoist the flag, and beat off the Mamelukes, if they should decide upon an attack. Curadi, "whose head's assurance was but frail," protested against resistance, and solicited me to accompany him to Bardo, where he would state to the Bey the nature of his concerns. The next morning I carried him to the palace, accompanied by both drogamen and Ambrosio; his creditors were anxiously waiting for their prey, suré of possessing him. I entered the hall of justice, where the Bey was seated, surrounded by his ministers. After the accustomed salutation, he asked very calmly, what my business was. Your excellency is aware, said I, that any person who takes refuge in the house of a Consul, is protected; this Christian entered my house as a sanctuary, and you have endeavoured to destroy my rights, by attempting to take him from my protection; failing in that, you had recourse to threats, and yesterday you sent me a message by Abdallah, stating, that if I did not instantly give him up, you would send twenty Mamelukes, and cut him to pieces. Now, sir, that the sanctuary of the American house may not be violated, I have, at his request, brought him to you, finding that you are about to deprive the American flag of a privilege accorded to all civilized powers, and which I assure you, we shall not relinquish without a struggle. I never said such a thing, said the Bey, rising, the slave is mad—Did I say so, Abdallah? asked he, with a furious look—the poor trembling drogaman replied, No sir, I was mistaken. There Consul, said the Bey, seating himself, how could you believe such a thing, such a preposterous thing, Abdallah is an old fool. I knew the Bey lied and Abdallah had spoken truth, which, had he insisted upon, his head would have answered for. Well, what is all this about, said the Bey; Curadi told his story, and asked only sixty days to sell his goods and pay his debts honourably; why this is fair and just said the Bey, and if you will be his security

he shall have that time. I pledged myself for his safe keeping,—his creditors looked disappointed, and Hassan and Mustapha, the two sons of the Bey, who had been the cause of this trouble, darted a furious look at me and left the hall, which look I returned with perfect indifference. Having confirmed the rights and privileges due to the American Consulate, and defeated the intrigues of these rogues, I returned to Tunis triumphant.

Curadi commenced the sale of his property, and the payment of his debts, when a few days after, Hassan Bey, determined to carry his point, sent a Janizary, with a polite message to Mr. Curadi, requesting him to come to the palace ; not suspecting any treachery, he dressed himself for the purpose, and was accompanied by the drogaman ; but he had scarcely entered, when he was seized and hurried to a dungeon. Abdallah returned and informed me of the event. It was then near one o'clock, the business for the day had terminated, the Bey, as usual, had retired to his harem, or to take his afternoon nap : notwithstanding which, provoked at the perfidy of the act, and determined to put an end at once to these insults, I mounted my horse, and repaired to Bardo. The Janizaries at the gate looked at me with astonishment as I passed through the arched way ; there were many stretched on their mats asleep, with their arms at their sides ; I entered the patio, but saw no person ; the palace was silent as death, but I soon roused the guards and slaves, and demanded the release of Curadi, in tones loud and peremptory. The Christian secretary, a very clever and civil Italian, remonstrated against the demand, assured me it was impossible to obtain his release that day, that the Bey was among his women, that his head would be the forfeit of disturbing him, and he entreated me to come to-morrow. I had come with a determination to release the Christian instantly, or to go into prison with him ; I accordingly unbuckled my sword, divested myself of uniform and epauletts, and ordered the guards to show me to his prison, which they were about doing cheerfully ; the slave, much alarmed, interfered, and solicited me to wait until he could see Sidi Hassan, and left me for the purpose of acquainting him with the object of my visit. In a short time, Hassan having collected a few persons around him, asked me, in a rude and insulting manner, what I wanted. I was in a humour to meet him with equal promptness and severity, and demanded the instant release of Curadi. He refused to give him his liberty, and

censured me for presuming to protect a debtor, and interfering with the concerns of the government—he was loud and insolent. I was excessively provoked and irritated, yet listened calmly to him.—Well, why dont you reply, said he, what have you to say? I told him I had nothing to say to him, that I did not know him, I came to see the Bey of Tunis, and I would know who was Bey; that the sovereign of this country, as I had supposed him to be, had promised the merchant sixty days privilege to sell his goods; that he was taken from under the protection of my drogaman, and hurried to a dungeon, where, if he was not instantly released, I would bear him company, order my flag to be struck, and terminate at once the pacific relations between the two countries. The tone of Hassan Bey lowered in an instant, he said his father had approved the measure, which I denied; he entreated me to come to-morrow, which I refused; at length he sprung furiously from his seat and left the room: take him then, said he, as he departed, you shall answer for his debts. An order was given to release him, I followed the messenger, and in a dark and dismal dungeon, suffocating, and filled with vermin, was poor Curadi, dressed in cassimere small-clothes and silk stockings, for his audience; he was as rejoiced and grateful at his deliverance as I was, that I had triumphed over the iniquity and bad faith of these wretches, and once more preserved inviolate the rights of the American flag. The Consuls soon heard and rejoiced that such a victory, for the first time, in such a case, was obtained at Bardo.

Within the allotted period Curadi sold his goods, paid his debts, and preserved his credit, and now is doing well. I mention these facts to show the disposition and character of these people, as one among the numerous disputes which I had with them, and in all which, as will be seen in the sequel, I was victorious.

In glancing at the various inhabitants, which chance, or the persecutions of an unfeeling world, have driven to this quarter of the globe, I should not omit noticing the Jews. Indeed, on this subject, more will be expected from me than from casual observers. Professing the same religion, and representing a Christian nation in an important station, and in an interesting part of the world, it will be supposed that opportunity and inclination must have combined to afford the most correct information on the subject; while, on the other hand, an equality of rights, a reasonable

participation of honours and office, together with the advantages of society and education, unite to banish those prejudices, inseparable from dark minds, and feelings wounded and irritated. If on this subject I should not say much, what I shall say will be the result of close observation. On the numerical force, wealth, and disposition for emancipation among these descendants of the Patriarchs, I have a small volume, the publication of which may be dangerous to them, while the north of Africa is in the hands of Barbarians, and I am not without hopes that the time will come, when some civilized power, capable and determined, will wrest that fine portion of the world from the hands of assassins, and relieve an unfortunate race, who only require mildness and tolerance to make useful and beneficial.

The Israelites banished from Spain and Portugal by the bigotry of their monarchs, and for which these kingdoms have long since languished and decayed, sought refuge in the Barbary States, in which there were originally but 200,000. They found in Fez, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, an immense number of their brethren, originally from Judea and Egypt, many who had descended from the Canaanites that fled from Joshua and settled in *Mauritania Tingitania*. Such was the fate and the fortune of these proscribed and unhappy people. They wandered with no other king but their God, no other law than his precepts and ordinances; they bent under persecutions, yet, wherever the intolerance of the times compelled them to go, they found their brethren, with admirable constancy, ready to share with them their fortunes, and, if necessary, to sacrifice their lives for each other. In the Barbary States they found a refuge from the inquisition, from torture and from the *auto de fe*; they were compelled to abandon their splendid dwellings and the luxury of wealth, they met from Mussulmen insult and oppression, yet they were tolerated, and they sought consolation in that religion which teaches them to have but one God, to obey his commandments and rely on his protection. They were taught, by the doctrines of their law, to suffer patiently the penance of a loss of national liberty; for a disregard in early periods to the principles of that law, they were dispersed according to the word of God, and in conformity to his promise, they patiently bend to the intolerance of the times, and await the certain period of their deliverance, satisfied, from the well-known and admitted fact, that

they have been preserved pure and unalloyed, amidst the wreck of worlds and the ruins of nature, and that this miraculous preservation must eventuate in their restoration to their ancient rights.—From the most correct data which I could obtain, I have reason to believe, that the number of Jews in the Barbary States exceeds 700,000, of which nearly 100,000 are capable of bearing arms. Much has been said of the severe and cruel treatment of the Jews by Mussulmen, this I did not observe ; that they are treated with indignity and insult there is no doubt ; they are compelled to wear a black dress, they are not permitted to pass a Mosque with their shoes on, they pay a heavy capitation tax, and minor insults growing out of a general system and customs long observed. These were predicated on policy : the Moors found an immense and increasing people professing a different faith—active, enterprising, and rich—fearful then of an increase of a confederacy, composed of materials capable of revolutionizing and governing the country, they united to oppress, insult, and yet tolerated them. An erroneous impression prevails, that the religion of the Jews is an object of hatred to Mussulmen, and the cause of this oppression. This is not the case, because the Mahomedan faith does not materially differ from the Jewish, and their hatred towards Christians is yet more fierce and irreconcilable ; but the Jews have no protectors, they are considered by Mussulmen as abandoned by all nations, because they will not renounce their ancient faith, and yet, with all this apparent oppression, the Jews are the leading men, they are in Barbary the principal mechanics, they are at the head of the custom-house, they farm the revenues, the exportation of various articles, and the monopoly of various merchandise, are secured to them by purchase, they control the mint and regulate the coinage of money, they keep the Bey's jewels and valuable articles, and are his treasurers, secretaries, and interpreters ; the little known of arts, science, and medicine, is confined to the Jews, there are many who are possessed of immense wealth, many who are poor. How then is it that these people, so important and so necessary, should be so oppressed ! The fact is, this oppression is in a great measure imaginary. A Turk strikes a Jew, who dares not return the blow, but he complains to the Bey and has justice done him. If a Jew commits a crime, if the punishment affects his life, these people, so national, always purchase his pardon ; the disgrace of one affects the whole community ; they are ever in the

presence of the Bey, every minister has two or three Jewish agents, and when they unite to attain an object, it cannot be prevented. These people, then, whatever may be said of their oppression, possess a very controlling influence, their friendship is worthy of being preserved by public functionaries, and their opposition is to be dreaded. The intrigue which the Jewish merchants set on foot, to obtain from me the prize goods at their own valuation, I could not, with all my efforts, effectually destroy, as I discovered that the Bey, his brother, two sons, and several of his officers, were interested in the result. Their skill in business, and the advantage which they take of Christians and Moors, have been the subject of severe and just animadversion ; they will, if not narrowly watched, avail themselves of opportunities to overreach and defraud ; for this the world has showered upon them opprobrium and insult. But has the world ever held out proper inducements for the Jew to be honest, except in countries where they enjoy equal privileges ? If they are just, they are not credited for it ; if they possess merit, they are not encouraged and rewarded ; if they do a good action, approbation does not follow ; proscribed and insulted, their virtues denied, public opinion attaching to them the odium due to bad men of all persuasions, no friend, no solace in misfortune, hunted, despised, and shunned, it is still asked of them to be honest, when they receive no reward or gratitude for their honesty, when no man will give them credit for one good action !—What is the incitement to virtue ? the approbation of conscience and the world ; the Jew in Barbary has no friend but his wealth, *that* purchases protection and toleration, and he is ever zealous and active in the accumulation of it, and if he is not fastidious in his mode of acquirement, he is not singular—exclusive honesty is the property of no sect.

As a proof that the Jews in Tunis can exercise a very important influence, I shall relate one fact which touches us nearly :—Upon some frivolous occasion an American Consul beat a Jew, who was attached to the custom-house ; the Jew complained to Hamouda Pacha, who ordered that the Consul should openly beg pardon of said Jew in the custom-house, and as a proof of humility, should kiss him—*which was done*. This was an act of justice on the part of the Bey, though it was not flattering to our nation, nor to the officer, who could persecute the persecuted, proscribe the proscribed.

The kingdom of Tunis contains about sixty thousand Jews, and whatever difference of opinion may exist as to their population in the city, I do not believe that it contains more than twenty thousand. These are divided into Italian and Barbary Jews, who are distinguished by their dress. The Barbary Jews wear a blue frock without a collar or sleeves, loose linen sleeves being substituted with wide drawers of the same article, no stockings, excepting in winter, and black slippers, a small black scull-cap on their head, which is shaved, and around which a blue silk handkerchief is bound; they are permitted to wear no colours. The Italian Jews dress like Christian residents, with the addition of a *haick*, or *bournoise*, thrown over their heads. They inhabit a distinct quarter of the town, and are governed by a person named by the Bey, who hears and decides upon all disputes, and orders, if necessary, corporeal punishment to be inflicted; so that it may be said, they enjoy the privilege of being governed by men of their own persuasion; they support their poor, the rich being compelled to pay double price for articles of luxury, one-half of which goes to the poor; their houses are low and mean, which they are ever white-washing and cleansing. They have no system of education, their children being taught the Hebrew language, and the ceremonies of religion, which is the same here, though more rigidly observed, as they are in every other part of the world where Jews reside. Polygamy, which is allowed by the Mahomedan law, and not forbidden by the Mosaic institutions, prevails in Barbary, but very rarely; I heard of but one Jew in Tunis who had two wives, his name was *Alhaick*, a very rich and active old man. As it will readily be imagined in a country which is not civilized, the Jewish women, like the Turkish, are considered as an inferior race.— They are fat and awkward, their dress consisting of a petticoat of silk of two colours, principally yellow and purple, around which is thrown, in several folds, a thin gauze wrapper; the head is covered with a coloured silk handkerchief; those who are single, have their hair platted in two or three rows, to the end of which they suspend coloured ribands; they wear no stockings, but slippers, with silver cinctures around their ankles; and the soles of their feet, their hands, nails, and eye-brows, tinged and coloured of a dark brown, from the juice of an herb called *Henna*. When they walk they unloosen from their neck a piece of black crape, with which they cover their mouth and chin, leaving the upper part of their

face bare. As to their living and domestic concerns, I can say nothing, never having visited any of them.

On the birth-night of General Washington, a ball was given at the American Consulate ; the Jew brokers called to solicit the favour of permission to bring their women, as they call them, to see the company, which I granted ; and one of the rooms was nearly filled with the Jewish beauty, and *beau monde* of Tunis. They were all dressed magnificently, covered with jewels, gold brocades, tissue, lama and gauze, arranged without any taste, and crowded together without fancy ; their feet bare, with embroidered slippers, and gold and silver bracelets around their ankles. Their complexions were fair, their eyes and teeth were good, but their figures were corpulent and unwieldy, which is considered a sign of beauty.—The ladies of Tunis, who could speak Arabic, conversed with the Jewesses very courteously, and they appeared modest and well behaved.

The only opportunity which the females have of seeing each other, for visiting is unknown in a population so extensive, is at the burial ground ; this is outside of the walls, surrounded by no enclosure, and open to animals of all kinds ; the tombs are built of mortar and brick, they are flat, and not more than six inches in elevation from the ground : at the head of each tomb is a small square piece of slate bedded in, on which is engraved the name of the deceased in Hebrew characters. Every Friday afternoon the Hebrew women assemble with a small earthen jar, containing slack lime and a brush, with which they clean and whitewash the tombs of their family and friends. It was in this abode of death that I accustomed myself to study the character of these people. The wife or mother, arrived at the place, would deposit her little jar and brush on the ground, and then seek among the inscriptions for the name of one who was still dear to her ; having discovered it, she touched the inscription with her hand, which she carried to her lips and kissed ; then, seating herself on the tomb, wept bitterly, consoled herself in affliction by talking with the dead, and recounting her domestic affairs, her happiness or afflictions, and, with a melancholy ignorance, soliciting the kind interference and affectionate protection of her dead kindred : having expended some time in the luxury of grief, she would clean the tomb, and join her companions to learn the “ passing tidings of the times.” [These in-

stances of a feeling and benevolent heart, and of a pious reverence, I frequently have witnessed : it is in the crucible of adversity that the Jew, in weeping over his own distresses, has taught himself to weep over the distresses of others. It was here that I saw the daughters of Israel, no longer on Zion or in Sharon, no longer triumphant, free and beloved, exhibit proofs of a heart which should be prized above all things, which is more estimable than riches or precious ointment. But who will seek the virtues of the Jews ? Who credits them for their charity, for their domestic fidelity, for their national faith, and mutual protection ?—none. Their vices, which are like the vices of other men, except that treason and murder are unknown to them, have been the theme of reproach, of prejudice, and punishment.*

* The Jews in Barbary have suffered severely from the ignorance and prejudice of travellers, who have only familiarized themselves with the dark shades of their character ; but by none have they been more severely handled, than in the Narrative written for Captain Riley. It was to have been expected that this man, who has the honour to be born in a free country, would have exhibited a spirit of liberality corresponding with the genius and disposition of his fellow-citizens. I pass over the miracles in Riley's Narrative, he must settle those with the judgment and good sense of his readers, but will extract a few remarks about the Jews. He describes their dress and mode of living with tolerable accuracy, but falls into some ludicrous errors on the subject of religion, and some gross libels on the general chastity of females. "The Jewish women," says this fortunate son of Neptune, "are considered by the men as having no souls, nor are they allowed to enter the Synagogues but once a year, nor do the women partake of their sacraments, which consist of bread, wine, and circumcision." Now, it is a well known fact, that women visit the Synagogues whenever they please, that they freely partake of the bread and wine ; and as to the other part of the sacrament, I should be happy if the learned navigator would point out how the women could partake of that. He says that "no Barbary Jew thinks it a disgrace to wear antlers, provided they are gilded, for if he should set about redress he could never obtain it." As he cannot obtain redress for any violence offered to his wife or daughter, it is unreasonable to suppose that any compensation would be offered by men, who, by this account, are all powerful. Journeying towards Saffy, our modest traveller gives an account of an attempt made on his virtue by two Jewesses ; let us hear him. "Two of the most handsome and stylishly dressed damsels, with a number of the second rate, came round to that side of the gallery where I sat, quietly and alone, writing down notes for my journal : they first expressed their wonder at my manner of writing, from left to right ; then at the letters I formed, &c. and having by this method succeeded in diverting my attention from what I was about, the two smartest looking girls, about sixteen or eighteen years of age, with quite pretty faces, and richly dressed, invited me to go with them and see their father's room." *Mirabile dictu !* "My curiosity prompted me to comply, and I suffered them (poor creature) to lead me along to their cham-

Turkish women have been for ages the theme of the Poet and subject for the Painter ; the glowing descriptions of Oriental writers have dazzled the imagination and misled the judgment. We read the warm and animated accounts of Turkish beauties, from the accomplished pen of Lady Mary Montague ; a deep and pleasing impression is made upon us, from the Arabian Nights and Persian Tales ; and all the highly coloured fictions which we have perused, have taught us to expect, in Turkish beauties, something more than mortal. One circumstance has greatly aided the delusion, and that is, Turkish beauties are so closely confined, and so carefully veiled when abroad, that every thing is left to the imagination, and, consequently, the picture becomes highly coloured. Those which I saw was by accident, and, therefore, I had but an imperfect opportunity of forming a judgment on the subject. I collected, however, from the ladies of Tunis, such information as gave me a correct idea of their persons and pursuits.

The women are mostly brunettes—but few of the natives are very fair ; they have black eyes that sparkle with vivacity, generally fine teeth, and, as far as my observation permitted me to form an opinion, I should judge, that Spanish and Turkish women resemble each other in complexion and features. The person of a Moorish lady, if fashionable, is corpulent and unwieldy ; taking little or no exercise, indolent, and feasting on the most fattening substances, they are generally heavy and gross, and being deprived of opportunities to cultivate their minds, the extent of their accomplish-

ber, where their mother, a very fleshy, middle aged woman, was sitting on a mattress; and as they had no other seat, they invited me to sit down on the same bed beside her. After due salutations, the old lady left the room, shutting the door after her. The object of these sirens was to get *money*!! from me ; but finding that I was able to *withstand* all their *temptations*, (O ! chaste Neptune), they at *last* permitted me to retire, but not before they had tried every *indekate* art and incitement, of which they were complete mistresses, to effect their purpose."!! A very pretty story, indeed, and very gravely told. Two Jewesses, "smart," with "pretty faces," "richly dressed," "fine earrings, necklaces of pearl and amber, golden chains, golden hearts, and other trinkets." A mine of wealth by his own account, enticing a poor shipwrecked sailor, redeemed from slavery, and, *if he is to be believed*, squalid, wretched, and reduced to ninety pounds weight with misery, into a room to practice on his *virtue* and his *pocket*. O monstrous!! It is to be presumed, that in a community so extensive as the Jews in Barbary, and in many cases so ill-treated, that loose characters are to be found ; they are the same in all countries and among all persuasions.

ments is a knowledge of embroidery and making preserves, of which they are amazingly fond. Having no intercourse with the world, restrained in their pursuits, and guarded with jealousy in their movements, they are ignorant of society and of manners. They marry very young, which, with them, is a civil, and not a religious tie, to be dissolved almost at the will of the husband. The parties never see each other, the match being concluded by the parents, and may be justly compared to a lottery and all its risks—the fortune of the lady, seldom consists of more than a few trunks of clothes, gaudily arranged. The bride is enclosed in a species of cage, covered with silk, and placed on the back of a camel, whose head and tail are ornamented with ribands. A few musicians, and slaves, carrying on their heads dishes of *Coososo*, or *Pillaw*, together with the rabble, form a procession to the house of the bridegroom, where the ceremony concludes with a feast, and the firing of muskets during the night. Thus allied, without a knowledge of each other's virtues and attractions, without love or sentiment, it will be readily imagined, that the marriage state in Turkey, is but a species of improved slavery. Polygamy being allowed, the husband repudiates his wife when he pleases, by conforming to some frivolous ceremonies. Thus situated, the women finding themselves neglected, without influence or society, without tenderness or affection, they are ever on the alert to intrigue, and particularly with Christians, although they are aware that detection is followed by inevitable destruction to both parties. They walk on the terraces, and frequently unveil themselves. I never passed a Moorish woman on the road, who was generally on a mule, led by a slave, or husband, but she seized upon an opportunity to remove the silk covering from her face, either to gratify her curiosity or my own. They have been known to go to baths, with the hope of meeting with a Christian, and have frequently asked of them, when unobserved, to repeat the manner in which Christians treat their wives, whether kind or affectionate, conciliatory and humane, and the reply always produced melancholy comparisons. When asked by a Christian what would be the consequence of the detection of an intrigue, the Moorish lady replied, “nothing to you; you will only lose your head, but I will be carried about town on a mule, with my face uncovered, and finally drowned in the lake.” The sense of shame, creating greater alarm than the punishment of death. The detection of an intrigue, if brought home to the par-

ties, is generally punished with death ; it is the religion which is violated, and which cannot be appeased by any subordinate sacrifice ; hence the Moors are particularly vigilant, and the women guarded. Having occasion to visit a country-house near Carthage, belonging to a Moor, which was to let, I met the owner at the door, who inquired what my business was ; being informed, he proceeded to show me the house, and just as I entered the hall, he asked the drogaman what Consul I was ; being answered the American Consul, he cried out suddenly, run and tell the women quick to get out of the way, it is the American Consul who is coming. This is the first time I knew that Americans were objects of so much dread to Moorish husbands. The women waddled to their alcoves, as fast as their corpulent persons would permit, and I discovered some, peeping through the crevices of the curtains.

An Irish captain of dragoons, who was on a visit to Tunis, accompanied me one day to the palace at Bardo, after having received a very necessary caution, not to indulge his curiosity in looking in at the windows of the harem. Such admonitions, with gentlemen of his nation, lose their effect, and in crossing the patio, he suddenly cried out, there are two beautiful women peeping through the lattices, to whom, without ceremony, he kissed his hand. I expected that this act of well meant gallantry, would, if observed, have been paid by a ball from the musket of some Janizary on guard, fortunately, the action was unnoticed, and on drawing him away from the dangerous spot, accompanied with a necessary expostulation, he excused himself by pleading the utter impossibility of an Irishman's passing a petticoat in a strange country, without a complimentary salute.

The ladies of the harem dress very richly, having no employment, their day is principally devoted to the toilet ; they wear velvets, silks and gauzes, beautifully embroidered at the bosoms, and cut up in caftans and robes, without taste ; bare feet and embroidered slippers, their hair loose and filled with jewels, and heavy earrings and bracelets, and cinctures around their ankles. The costume of a Turkish lady of rank is a singular mixture of splendour, cut up and formed with a barbarous taste, and her appearance betrays a person half civilized and half savage. They use abundance of otto of roses, which is manufactured in Tunis of the first quality, and powder their hair with pulverized cloves.

The houses of the natives are very similar, those belonging to the wealthy being on the same scale, though more extensive; a row of ottomans, covered sometimes with silk, sometimes with calico, runs around the room, which is paved with tiles; the terrace of the houses are used for taking the air, and for various domestic purposes, they are very clean, and their cooking is simple and economical. The favourite dish is *Coososo*, which is a species of granulated paste, made of flour, and dried on the terrace. This is steamed down, with beef, fowls, vegetables of several kinds, eggs, marrow, saffron and cinnamon, and is really an excellent dish. A girl, when she is engaged to be married, is generally stuffed with *Coososo*, to fatten her according to the standard of taste, which generally succeeds; they also stew beef with raisins and chestnuts; their table is but a few inches from the floor, around which they sit on cushions, using no knives or forks, but pulling the victuals to pieces with their fingers, which is generally cooked to rags, and easy of dissection; their drink consists of water, lemonade, and sherbet; sometimes, when alone, the better order enjoy a bottle of claret; water and clean towels conclude the ceremony of eating. Coffee is an article of great consumption, all descriptions of Turks use it abundantly, even the poor labourer rests from his work to drink a small cup of thick coffee, which is sold to him in the street for an asper. Clear, strong coffee, in a handsome China cup, is presented to all visitors in respectable houses.—The poor live very abstemious, they purchase a large roll of excellent bread, scoop out the centre, which they fill with sweet oil, and thus they walk the streets, breaking off pieces of bread, which they dip in the oil, until the whole is consumed. Abdallah, my Persian drogaman, who received but a trifling compensation, came by day break to the Consulate, with a small basket, containing a few black olives, a roll, and a small jar of oil, which was his daily provision, excepting on Sunday, when he dined at the house, and had a bottle of wine.

The funeral rites of the Moors have been frequently detailed, and the honours which they pay to the dead, is strangely irreconcilable with their habits and opinions. The grief expressed for the loss of a friend, is deep and sincere. Scarcely has the breath left the body, when it is dressed, perfumed, and hurried to the grave, which expedition is accounted for, by the belief, that the happiness

of the deceased, and his promised joys, are denied until the rights of sepulture takes place. Loud lamentations are seldom heard, their grief is silent and respectable. Like the Jewesses, they visit the tombs on Friday, to converse with the dead, and renew their vows of fidelity ; their cemeteries are shrouded by the melancholy cypress, and I have seen, with peculiar interest, a widow closely veiled, seated on a tomb, in profound grief, and several small children playing around her, and plucking the wild daisy and field flowers.

The Moorish residents have no amusements, their lives are one scene of monotony ; grave and austere in their habits, mirth and the jocund laugh are almost unknown ; their favourite game is chess and draughts, to which they are attached, as they require silence and reflection. Cards are prohibited ; the Turkish soldiers, however, when alone, will indulge themselves in a game, for which they are bastinadoed if detected. Coffee-houses, dark, and obscene, are common, in which the Turks amuse themselves, with story tellers, dancing girls, and singers, while they sip their coffee with extreme gravity. Barber's shops are places of resort, where all the news from the palace and from Europe is disseminated, while the head is shaved, which is done with neatness and expedition. But the most general place of rendezvous in Tunis, for male and female, is the bath, of which great numbers are to be found ; here they assemble to conform to the ordinances of their religion, and to the gratification of curiosity and intrigue.

About this period a courier arrived by land from Tripoli, bringing me a letter from Mr. Jones, our Consul, informing me that the Bey of Tripoli had gone further than his colleague of Tunis, for he had actually restored to the British, two prizes captured by the *Abellino*, and a British brig of war was blockading the privateer at that period in Tripoli. The Consul transmitted a protest relative to the transactions, and had struck his flag, and very properly terminated the public relations. I called the courier to converse with him. He was an Arab, with a woollen haick thrown loosely around him, with sandals on his feet, and an oaken staff. His letter he had carefully wrapped up in several folds of linen, and bound round his body ; he had walked from Tripoli in about twelve days, crossing the Gulf of Cades, and passing through Susa and Sfax, for which service he received but twelve dollars. He was

prepared to return thither immediately, and I replied to the letter, paid the courier, and instructed him, on his return, to be particular in describing to me the places of antiquity through which he was compelled to pass, together with such inscriptions as he may discover.

Political events in Europe had taken a new and extraordinary turn. Bonaparte had escaped from Elba, and France once more assumed the imperial control. A small vessel from Marseilles, brought the intelligence, which was confirmed by two passengers, one of whom was the Count Saint Priest, aid-de-camp to the Duke D'Angouleme, and the Chevalier de Montigny, secretary of Legation to the French Embassy at the Ottoman Porte. These two gentlemen had escaped from the authorities established on the return of the Emperor, and sought a refuge in Barbary. They were both intelligent and accomplished men, and spent a considerable portion of their time with me.

In a few days a sloop of war arrived, bearing the tri-coloured flag, and having on board, as Consul-General, Monsieur Debois de Tainville, formerly Consul at Algiers. Here was a sudden and unexpected change. The white flag was hoisted by the French Charge des Affaires, who repaired to the palace at Bardo, in order to protest against the acknowledgment of Bonaparte; but the Bey, assuming it as a principle, that the reigning sovereign must be accredited, and probably fearing the result of a refusal to respect the power of the Emperor, he gave orders for a change of flags, assuring the representative of Louis XVIII. that when his master should retrieve his crown, that his power should be acknowledged.

The new Consul apprised me, that at twelve o'clock the next day, the tri-coloured flag would be displayed on the French Consulate, and desired to know, whether it would receive from the American flag the customary honour. I lost no time to assure him, that it should; and I felt a peculiar gratification in representing a country so perfectly independent of European control; and while all the other consuls were prohibited from respecting the flag, the United States, sovereign and independent, unshackled by foreign confederacies, was the only power, virtually and substantially free, acknowledged the reigning sovereign, and left his claims to be contested among the legitimates of Europe. I paid a visit of ceremony

to Mr. Debois Tainville, and invited him to a dinner, at which all the Consuls were present, and lamenting that political events prevented the exercise of the like independence and hospitality.—When the powers of Europe combined once more to drive Bonaparte from France, and the white flag was again restored, it received from me the same honours ; we “are open to all, influenced by none.”

Having at this period some leisure time, I profited by the occasion, to pay a visit to the ruins of Utica, a project which I had long in contemplation. One of the chamberlains of Murat, Count Camilla Borgia, a man of talents and enterprise, was at Tunis, and accompanied me on the Tour.

The ruins of Utica are far more interesting than those of Carthage. This city never could have attained the magnitude and importance of Carthage—its situation—the defect in its maritime position, and its close approximation to a place already of the highest political and commercial importance, would have prevented its increase beyond the site which its ruins now occupy. According to the calculation of Appian, Utica was nine miles from Carthage. If this calculation be correct, the distance must have been computed from the extreme point of Carthage to the nearest point of Utica, as this city lies west and by north of Carthage, and according to the road, which is circuitous, it is at this day near sixteen miles.

We left Tunis by the gate leading to the palace at Bardo, and struck off from the aqueduct to the northward, and pursued a road lined with the olive and carob tree, and about seven miles from Tunis, arrived at a country seat of the Bey's, called Isabella.

The Moorish villas and gardens bear little or no affinity to the warm and glowing descriptions of romance. We look in vain for the splendid vestibule—the columns of porphyry—the cooling fountains—the light verandas—the windows of the harem, and the impervious groves of orange and pomegranate. We see, indeed, a confused mass of stone and mortar thrown together, without taste or symmetry—long sallies in the Spanish style, and a few fruit trees, scattered promiscuously among groves of olive. Isabella, however, is said to be the neatest country palace in the kingdom ; and although the architecture is strictly Moorish, the ornaments of the interior, and, in fact, the whole of the internal arrangements, are

in the Italian style. We were received by several Neapolitan slaves, to whose care the palace is assigned, and who were notified of each visit contemplated by the Bey or any of his family. We entered a spacious gateway, over which a rampart had been built, and on which several small brass field-pieces were placed, and pursued our way into the hall, which terminated in a view of a large tank, or cistern of water, near one hundred feet square, in which a small boat and one or two frigates, in miniature, bearing the Ottoman flag, were moored. Around this tank, which, by the Moors, is called a *jerbi*, and the water of which flows into the gardens, ran a range of marble columns, supporting a portico, from which the doors of the several apartments were seen. In these apartments there are no furniture; the ceiling is richly ornamented with stucco, the wall inlaid with coloured marble, and a row of Ottomans, on which cushions are placed, form all the convenience and ornament of these palaces.

The slaves prepared coffee and lemonade for us, and, as the night approached, they seated themselves on the marble floor, and gave us a description of their unfortunate situation—the length of time they had passed in slavery—their native country, birth, and family. It appeared strange to us, but not less true, that most of these Italians had been surprised by small parties of Turks, who had landed from their corsairs and made them prisoners. We would naturally suppose that the terrors of captivity, joined to the facility of approaching the coast and effecting a landing, would induce the government to adopt precautionary measures, such as fortifying the line of coast, arming the people, and embodying the militia, which would tend to afford a sure protection from the inroads of these pirates. But so it is, that a territory of near six hundred miles, is wholly unprepared for resistance, and it does not unfrequently happen, that a boat's crew land under cover of the night, and carry away whole families into bondage. It would naturally be asked, are these outrages committed for the sake of gaining the value of the ransom generally paid for a slave? or is it from hatred to the Christians? The motives are mixed. Avarice has its full share, but religious prejudice is the powerful incentive. Many of these slaves were of respectable families. Several had been twenty years prisoners, and had almost lost all hope of being restored to their country.

At dawn of day we were awake by the singing of birds, which perched on the iron lattices of the windows, and regaled us with their melody. Cato had also been disturbed by these warblers a few minutes before he fell on his sword. We were a few leagues only from Utica, and felt the analogy of the situation—every thing around us looked flourishing—the country, the high road over which the Roman legions had marched, remained unchanged—the stern patriot and his little senate were no more.

We mounted our horses, and preceded by a Janizary as a guide, pursued the main road for about five miles, until it terminated by a narrow path cut through a mountain, which opened on an extensive plain, at the extremity of which we perceived, on a rising ground, some scattered ruins. This was Utica.

We approached a river of about twenty yards wide, with steep banks, over which we crossed in a flat—the remains of an ancient bridge were in sight ; the freshets had destroyed the piers, which were decayed and partly sunken ; our horses were safely ferried over, and we turned to look back on the river we had passed.—How frail are the hopes of glory—how sure is the corroding hand of time. It was the Bagra of antiquity we had passed, on the banks of which Regulus had killed the enormous serpent—its stream rolled sluggishly along, indifferent to passing events. On the banks of this river, now called Booshata by the Turks, have the legions of Hannibal marched, the triumphant army of Scipio encamped. How often, perhaps, has Cato paced its borders, deeply revolving in his mind the state of the republic, and the means necessary to save the common cause from shipwreck ? How often, on that spot, has the stern patriot vowed to live free or die ? How often has the senate, released from the perplexing cares of their station, assembled on its banks to meditate on the high and solemn duties imposed on them ? Here a Sempronius, strongly urging, and fiercely supporting a call for war—there Lucius, mildly essaying to calm those turbulent feelings, and wearing constantly the silver smile of peace. A view of this spot is a collateral evidence of history, the events of which pass rapidly over the mind, as we trace the ruins of those splendid edifices, which a spirited and liberal people had reared. We passed through a small camp of Bedouins, or wandering Arabs, who had pitched their tents, made of coarse hair cloth, on the banks of the river. The sun was just rising, and

threw a rich tint on the surrounding country. In front, we had a view of the sea, and the distant island of Zimbra—to the left, under a bold and commanding promontory, lay the town of Porta Farina, near which two or three of the Bey's cruisers were moored, —to the right, and behind us, was an extensive plain, bounded by narrow hills, covered with verdure and olive trees. The air was pure and soft as it is in Attica, and we stopped near a tent to survey this rich and beautiful country, which a revolution of ages had thrown into the hands of barbarians. We were soon assailed by the Arab dogs in the camp, which have the appearance of wolves, and are extremely fierce; our Janizary tried to appease them in the Arabic language, but not succeeding, he drew his pistol from his belt with an intention of shooting one of them, which he was prevented from doing by their being called off by their owners.

The Mussulmen are not fond of strangers. Their cold and retiring disposition unsuits them for habits of social intercourse. It is also contrary to their laws and customs for their women to expose their faces—and this is strictly observed in their towns and cities, but in the country these laws are not rigidly enforced. The Arab women and girls, were employed about the tents in domestic purposes—they viewed us with much indifference—the sun had scorched them nearly black—they wore large silver earrings and bracelets around their ankles, and their appearance strongly reminded us of our American squaws—one of them brought us a few pieces of coloured glass and some coins, which she had found on the ruins.

Utica was originally built on an eminence of nearly half a mile in length, and extremely narrow; contrary, however, to the custom pursued at Carthage and other important cities, the public buildings were erected on the plain, and only the remains of an amphitheatre are to be seen on the eminence. Utica must have been a very small city; traces of the wall by which it was surrounded are still discernible—it took in the before-mentioned eminence, and the circumference of the whole city, according to the best calculation, could not have been more than three miles.

The remains of the amphitheatre are a great curiosity—they occupy nearly the entire width of the eminence; but there are no vestiges of foundation to be seen—it never could have been appropriated to gymnastic exercises, chariot races, or the exhibi-

tion of gladiators, but was used for naumachia, or mock sea fights. Its form is oval, and about four hundred feet in circumference ; the depth, from the surface of the earth, is apparently ninety feet, and, as near as we could judge, the water must have occupied a depth of near ten feet. This chasm, for so it may be called, has an appearance peculiarly grand, and testifies the liberality of the people for whose amusement it was originally constructed. The water was introduced into the cavity from the Bagrada, by means of an aqueduct, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the eminence ; it entered at one end, and was let out at the other, the apertures for which are still seen. The eminence, or hill, was sloped, in order to give an easy entrance to the amphitheatre ; and, from the present appearance, it might have contained near twenty thousand people. The Romans were particularly attached to this species of amusement.

We descended on the plain, in order to discover the ruins of the senate house, and was naturally attracted to the largest pile, as affording the most reasonable belief, from its situation and extent, to be all that the Goths and Vandals had left of that celebrated edifice. It was of stone, mixed with a strong cement, and so completely crumbled in ruins, that no correct idea could be formed of its architecture or internal decorations. A circumstance, however, lately occurred, which left no room to doubt that this was the senate house. It is contrary to the religious customs of Mussulmen to dig for the purpose of discovering any antiques, or, as they term them, any coins or images belonging to the Christians. The first minister was building a splendid Mosque at Tunis, and had given orders to dig among the ruins of Carthage and Utica for columns of marble, many of which, and of various colours, were found, and were newly polished for the Mosque. While the Moors were digging in Utica, and close to the pile of ruins which we concluded had been the senate house, they discovered several marble statues, which they brought to the Minister of Marine, at the fortress of the Goletta, who permitted us to view them. They were all imperfect, but had been rendered more so by the barbarous custom of the Moors, who mutilate every statue they discover, by striking off the nose or limbs. I examined these statues with great attention. The first is a figure of Julius Cæsar, in a military dress, the head ornamented with oak leaves, tolerably well preserved, both arms, and half the

right leg are wanting, the left leg is broken at the knee, but the piece is preserved, and can be joined without difficulty. Attached to this statue is the trunk of a palm tree, with a bunch of grapes—it is seven feet nine inches including the pedestal, of a coarse grained, but white marble. The second is the statue of a Matron, the head, the two fore parts of the arms, and the end of the left foot are wanting; the position is graceful and elegant, and is of white marble, somewhat discoloured, and five feet in height without the head. The third is the statue of a Vestal, the head and two fore-arms are wanting, but the drapery is inexpressibly light and elegant, and the feet are covered with sandals. The fourth is also a Vestal, with some difference as to position, and of the same height. The fifth is a small statue of a Vestal, without a head, and the body broken in two pieces, and when joined, is about four feet. The sixth is either a statue of Jupiter or of Esculapius, the body is broken, but could be easily joined, the head, with the exception of the nose, is well preserved, the fore right arm and the left hand are wanting, this statue has a cloak gracefully thrown over the left shoulder, on which a head of Mercury is elegantly sculptured; the height is above five feet, and the marble fine grained, but with a yellow tinge. The seventh is the trunk of a statue, which must have been originally of great beauty, the height is about three feet two inches, of fine white marble, but we found it difficult to give it a name.

Here were seven different statues found on the ruins of Utica, and not far from the heap of broken colonnades, and masses of brick and stone, which we had reason to believe was the senate house. Several columns of jasper and porphyry had been found on the spot, and sent over to Italy by the Sapatapa, to be polished for his Mosque. From the circumstance of Utica being within the limits assigned to the Minister of Marine, and under his control as Kya of the Goletta, which post is purchased, all valuable discoveries become his property. I made great interest with him to obtain these statues, and offered him a large sum, with a view of bringing them home, but the cunning Turk would not part with them on such terms; give me, said he, a small stone weighing about fifty carats, and you may take them. I soon discovered that his expectations exceeded my means, and they remain at this day at the Goletta, objects of real curiosity.

There never could have been any real doubt as to the site on which Utica was built, yet from the present position of the Bagrada, there may be difficulty in deciding whether Utica was to the northward or the southward of it. There is no difference of opinion as to Utica having been a maritime city, and was said to have been built between Carthage and the Promontory of Apollo, now called Cape Zibeeb, or Porta Farina, between which, it is now a level piece of ground, with no elevations or promontories, and at a full distance of three miles from the eminence, near which the ruins are to be seen. How does this correspond with the maritime character which Ptolemy, Polybius, and other writers assign to Utica? There is no accounting for it, without we adopt the position of Dr. Shaw, "that the ground to the breadth of three or four miles from the sea shore, should appear to be an acquisition to the continent, occasioned by the easterly winds, and the copious addition of mud that is left at every inundation of the Mejerdah or Bagrada." We were confirmed in this belief by actual experiment. Count Borgia, after taking a sketch of the amphitheatre, which only could have been used for the naumachia, as the water mark could be discerned, set off with a view of discovering the position of the port, which Ptolemy places to the eastward of the *Promontorium Apolloniæ*. Now all modern writers who have been on the spot, contend that Ptolemy should have placed Utica to the westward; but he was right, as we subsequently discovered, not more than a quarter of a mile from the ruins, and on the borders of the Bagrada, the foundation of the wall which encompassed the city. Here then was the ancient port, which, as it now is, was south-east from the Promontory of Apollo, and two miles and a half of sand, level, and forming a beach, until it reaches the sea, is the alluvial which has been collecting in so many centuries from the easterly gales. Thus the semi-circular bay, between Carthage and Porta Farina, extended in ancient times, three miles further back, and then the port was under the eminence on which the ruins of Utica are now to be seen.

It was a difficult and dangerous experiment to explore the numerous subterraneous passages with which these ruins abound; we discovered, under ground, one or two chambers, neatly plastered; in one a small altar was found, which was probably dedicated to some domestic God.

From the eminence, to the north and south, the eye coursed over an extensive plain ; to the east, upwards of a league, is the *Castra Cornelia*, named as such from its being the head quarters of P. Cornelius ; indeed, the whole of the plain surrounding Utica, which, in extent, is admirably adopted for military purposes, and forms a beautiful landscape, was used for the Roman encampments, which Cæsar tells us, reached within a mile of Utica.

Under Cape Zibeeb, the *Promontorium Apollonis* of antiquity, lays the fortified town of Porta Farina, so called, from its being in the vicinity of salt-works. The Africans called it *Ruscinona*. It formerly was a good harbour for ships of war, but the accumulation of sand and mud from easterly gales, has choked up the channel, Corsairs of Tunis, fitted for sea from the canal at the Goletta, generally take in water at this place, of which there is a good spring. The town contains about ten thousand inhabitants, whose pursuits are partly commercial and agricultural; it is walled, and has a battery, in which a few soldiers are stationed. In ancient times, although near Carthage and Utica, great quantities of corn and provisions were shipped from this port, which is of some importance, laying the nearest to the sea, and if taken from the Turks, would become a safe place of deposit. A son of the Minister of Marine is governor of this place.

Nothing was more common in ancient times, when navigation was but imperfectly understood, to mistake the various Capes and head lands, in a voyage to Carthage. Of these there were three, very conspicuous ; Cape Blanco, the *Promontorium Candidum*, or white promontory, at which Scipio landed on his first expedition to Africa ; Cape Zibeeb, the ancient *Promontorium Apollonis* ; and Cape Bon, the ancient *Promontory of Mercury*. Between Cape Blanco and Cape Bon, which takes in Zibeeb, Utica and Carthage, the distance may be computed at sixty miles. Eight miles to the southward of Cape Blanco, and forty miles from Porta Farina, is the town of Bizerta. This town is situated on a most extensive and valuable lake, having a communication with the sea, and near sixty miles in circumference, near the mouth of which, is the ancient port of *Hippo*, so called by Scylax, though it was generally termed, in ancient times, *Hippo Dyarrhytus*. There are some ruins which marks the ancient port, broken piers and abutments, to keep off the inroads of the sea are yet to be seen. This lake has a

great depth of water, by some it is said, from twenty to fifty fathoms; the Mediterranean enters it briskly, and it is in extent, convenience, and situation, infinitely superior to the Lake of Tunis, and could be made a sea port of greater importance than any in Africa, as the ancient port is finely situated, and the channel only wants clearing to admit vessels of any burthen. From this vast lake, a small channel leads into another lake, very little less in circumference, and having the same depth of water; here then are two great natural reservoirs, capable of holding all the ships of war belonging to civilized nations; within sight of the Mediterranean, and open only to the north wind, surrounded also by a country susceptible of the highest cultivation. The finest species of fish of a large size, and like our streaked bass, is found in great abundance in these lakes. The place is entirely neglected by the Bey of Tunis; it once exported a considerable quantity of grain, but its contiguity to the sea, and weak defence, prevents the town being increased in size and importance.

Bizerta contains about seven thousand inhabitants, who are very poor; fruits of the most delicate kind are cultivated near the town, particularly large and excellent flavoured peaches. The Gulf of Bizerta is frequently mistaken for the Gulf of Tunis. The sea coast to Cape Zibeeb, is high and rocky, and between the two promontories are the *Dracontia* of the ancients, now called the *Camí*, or *Dogs*; these are clusters of rocks and islands, which are very dangerous. An American ship from Tunis was entirely lost upon them in 1810.

There is a good wagon road from Bizerta to Tunis, which passes by Utica; the distance between the two places, by land, may be about thirty miles. About the same distance from Bizerta, is the island of Tabarca, now used as a depot for the coral fishery; of the importance of this trade, and the island, I shall speak hereafter; it has good anchorage, is strongly defended, and lays at the mouth of the river *Wad el Quíber*. Thirty miles to the westward of Tabarca, is La Cala: formerly it was in possession of the French African company, which derived immense benefits from its grain, hemp and flax; this is the maritime boundary of the kingdom to the west.

Returning to Tunis, a view of the antiquities of the interior, promised to occupy my attention the first leisure moment; in the

meantime, the environs of that city, particularly to the south-east, promised some curiosities, and within the compass of a day's ride. In Tunis there are no antiquities to be found; pieces of broken columns, freizes and pediments, are here and there observed in some modern building; they were, however, brought from Carthage or Utica, and when any spacious building is progressing, it was not uncommon for the Moors to search for such columns as would answer their purpose. In one of the city baths, a column is still preserved, which was found at *El Merse*. The inscription is as follows :

IMP. CÆSAR
 DIVI NERVÆ NEPOS
 DIVI TRAIANA PARTHICI F.
 TRAIANVS HADRIANVS
 AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB.
 POT. VII. COS. III.
 VIAM A. CARTHAGINE
 THEVESTEN STRAVIT
 PER LEG. III. AVG.
 P. MITILIO SECONDO.
 LEG. AVG. PR. PR.

Between the Goletta and Tunis, to the east, a small village is built on a rising ground, containing but few houses, and the tomb of a Santon; this is called *Ades* or *Rhades*, and is one of the few towns which preserves its ancient name. Near this place a battle was fought between Regulus and the Carthagenians, in which the latter were defeated, in consequence of the unskilful manner in which Hanno placed his elephants. The ground is broken and uneven, and several eminences are near this village, and at a distance, over a fertile plain, rises the chain of mountains on the eastern border, under which, are the celebrated tepid baths of *Hammam-Leef*.—Although these baths are still resorted to, as a remedy for almost every disorder, there is nothing left of the splendour of the ancients, who were accustomed to visit this place, from every part of Italy, and which was considered a most fashionable summer residence.—There are several good houses in the place, and accommodations for invalids, besides a small palace, used by the Bey and his sons for the comfort and amusement of the ladies of the harem, who, at that watering place, appear to enjoy more liberty than they do at Bardo, pay visits, ride out but thinly covered, on mules, and

gratify themselves with a good long stare at any Christian who may walk under the grated arcades. The disposition of Turkish ladies to be friendly and sociable, will not be doubted, when it is known, that they hazard every thing to give facilities to their curiosity.

At the base of the mountains of Hamam-Leef, is an extensive mine of lead, which is found in considerable quantities; that article being little used in Tunis, it is not an object of much speculation; and the inhabitants are unacquainted with the method of working these mines.

About an hour's ride from Haman-Leef, and situated on the borders of an extensive plain, is the town of Solyman. This place contains about two thousand inhabitants, chiefly Moors from Andalusia, and their descendants, who, in this small village, tranquilly pursue their various occupations, and preserve many of those enlightened and polished customs which rendered them so illustrious in Spain. I obtained butter from this place, it was usually brought me in small earthen crocks, weighing two pounds; they put the milk and cream of goats together in a skin, and then shake it, until it is churned; the butter, however, is full of dirt and hair, and is melted, cleansed and salted, and then has the taste of Irish firkin butter. There are no ruins at Solyman, it is not built on the site of any ancient town.

Pursuing the borders of the sea shore, and to the north-east of Solyman, about six miles, there is another small village, thinly inhabited, called Moraisah, the *Maxula* of the ancients. This town, in the time of Ptolemy, was of considerable note, and exported grain in small craft. The ruins of a narrow harbour, together with some cisterns, are still to be seen. Between this place and Cape Bon, the ancient Promontory of Mercury, a number of ruins, and the sites of towns and villages, are to be seen; and it is certain, that extending from that cape, until we reach the lake, the ancients considered that slip of land, partly low, and partly protected by rugged mountains, as safe and convenient situations for small maritime towns, as it was from each of them but a short stretch to Carthage or Utica.

Another hot bath is found near the Promontory of Hercules, spoken of by Livy, as the *Calidæ Aquæ*, which is near the creek of Gurbos, the ancient *Carpis*.

There is a Saint called *Seedy Doude*, highly esteemed by the Mussulmen, about six miles from Cape Bon. The tomb, by Dr. Shaw, is considered as the remains of a Roman Prætorium, from the circumstance of three tessalated pavements, wrought in the handsomest manner, with birds, horses and fishes, being found near it. There is a possibility that the Turks, finding the building suitable for their purpose, made use of it; the Saint, however, is buried there, and they will allow no person, except a Mussulman, to approach the tomb. The ancient town of *Nisua* was built near it, and had a good harbour, which was generally made by vessels bound to Carthage, when the wind headed them off.

Not far from the cape, and under its rugged base, is the *Aquilaria* of antiquity, a place whose site has created great curiosity, and promoted considerable research; although no ruins of interest are to be found, there is still sufficient to indicate the place beyond any doubt. It was here that *Curio* landed his troops, which, before he reached Hamam-Leef, were defeated by *Sabura*. No modern dwellings are to be found on the spot, which is pleasantly situated, about half a mile from the sea shore. It was behind *Aquilaria*, and some distance up the mountains, where the quarries formerly were found, which, according to Strabo, in his 17th book, furnished Carthage and Utica with marble. These quarries, which are still open, and situated in a romantic spot, have not been worked since that period, and, doubtless, contain a large quantity of various kinds of marble.

Having reached Cape Bon, from the summit of which the mountains of Sicily can be seen in a clear day, the coast then makes in towards the eastward, and contains many modern and ancient ports of consequence. For the first fifteen miles, the beach is low and sandy, and but few straggling villages and clusters of houses are to be seen, the town of Galipia or Calibia, the *Clypea* or *Clupea* of the ancients, being the first of any note presenting itself after you double the cape. This was not an important place in ancient times, as no ruins of consequence are to be seen. The port is defended by a castle in bad repair, and the town contains about 4000 inhabitants, who raise corn, and manufacture oil, for which they have mills to bruise the olive.

Twenty miles from Clupea, is Gurba, the ancient *Curabis*, at which place there are ruins of cisterns, and part of a Roman bridge.

From Clupea to the Gulf of Hamam-ett, the country abounds with antiquities, which proves, beyond doubt, that it was once a most flourishing part of Africa.

At Nabal, a small Turkish town, are to be seen, the ruins of *Neapolis*; and a vast number of mutilated inscriptions, and broken columns, attest its former importance. Further on, are seen, the remains of the *Civitas Sigitana*, supposed to be, but very erroneously, the ancient *Adrumetum*. Beyond this place, on a plain, is the *Menarah*, a species of mausoleum, but supposed to be used formerly as a light house, as several altars were found, on which the *menara*, or lamps, were originally placed. Small creeks, broken bridges, and columns of marble, spread about this plain, proves it to have been in the neighbourhood of a flourishing city, and near which is the Gulf and town of Hamam-ett. This town has now about 7000 inhabitants, who are principally wealthy, and carry on a profitable trade with Tunis, by means of light barks and sandals, and exchange their wool, oil and wheat, for colonial produce, iron and money. Dr. Shaw has investigated, with great attention and ability, the country which surrounds Hamam-ett, together with the remains of antiquity, in order to ascertain whether *Adrumetum*, the *Heraclea* of the lower empire, was situated on that spot, and after many learned, but not conclusive arguments, he decides, that it was not built there. There is, doubtless, the greatest difficulty, in the present time, to give a satisfactory name to so many sites and ruins within a small compass, as those from Cape Bon to Hamam-ett. There can be no diversity of opinion respecting Carthage, Utica, and several sea ports, but nothing is more general, in the present state of the country, than to give to one village the ancient name belonging to another. The whole face of the country is altered, the distances appear greater, and the latitudes differ essentially. Dr. Shaw then places *Adrumetum*, at Herkla, the opposite side of the Gulf, which, as near as possible, corresponds with the ancient map of D'Ainville.

Five leagues farther is the important town of Susa, supposed by some to be the ancient *Ruspina*, although the learned Doctor thinks, that at *Sahalet*, a league further, the site of *Ruspina* should be placed. The town of Susa is situated on the head of a small bay, opened to the north-east gales, but having good anchorage.—It exports the finest oil in the kingdom, by some called, virgin oil of

Dabermahl ; the country, for many miles, is highly cultivated, and so rich, as to produce, without much labour, great quantities of wheat and corn, and a vast number of olive trees, and Susa may be considered, for its great agricultural advantages, nearly equal in value to Tunis, and might be made a port of considerable consequence, if in the hands of more enterprising masters. The town contains about ten thousand inhabitants, and a few Christian residents. Tartans from France, load with oil at Susa, which costs less when purchased there, than at Tunis. A variety of fragments of marble have been found near the town, but no inscriptions.

From this place to Monastier, is seven leagues ; Scipio occupied the whole tract of country with his army, considering it the most rich and fruitful.

Monastier is yet more populous than Susa, and without exporting as much valuable produce, they manufacture the fine bernouse and other woollen garments. The port is rather more safe than that of Susa.

Six miles from Monastier, is the *Septis* of the ancients, between which and Sfax, there are several sites of ancient towns, and a variety of interesting antiquities. Sfax, or *El Sfakus*, is a walled town, containing about seven thousand inhabitants, who carry on a valuable trade in corn, wool, and oil, and also manufacture woollens and soap.

The Gulf of Cables, the *Syrtis Minor* of the ancients, commences near Susa, and, in a semi-circular direction, measures 70 miles, filled with populous and flourishing towns, of which Cables is the most distinguished. This was called *Epichus* by Scylax, and was a very celebrated city in ancient times, as fine and heavy masses of marble are found, together with many fragments of buildings.

Cables, or *Gabs*, contains near thirty thousand inhabitants, possessing a fierce and warlike character ; they have but little commerce, and the gardens produce great quantities of dates, and the herb called *henna*, with which Turkish women stain their nails and eye-brows. Near this place is the island of Jerbi, which is the eastern boundary of the kingdom, and is an opulent and valuable possession ; the finest shawls, bournouses, and woollens, are manu-

factured on this island, which is well defended, and contains 30,000 inhabitants.

Having taken a hasty glance at the sea-ports and possessions on the eastern borders, which, in ancient times, were very interesting, and which, even now, are flourishing and important, it will be necessary to mention the towns in the interior, as they are less known at the present day, than those on the sea coast, and once they constituted a portion of those splendid cities and villages which were tributary to Carthage.

Taking a departure due west from Susa, and at a distance of 24 miles, is the town of Cairouan; or *Kair-wan*, the most populous and rich inland town in the kingdom, and differing very little in size from Tunis,—and was the first city, in which the Mussulmen took up their residence, on their arrival from Asia, in 647.

Kair-wan, the *Vicus-Augusti* of the ancients, is built on a sandy plain, it could not originally have been a place of much commerce, but probably it was a manufacturing city, which supplied the sea-ports, and was within a few hours ride of Adrumetum, Susa, Ruspina, and the Farades, or Aphrodisium. There are no inscriptions to be found, but several fragments of antiquity are distributed throughout the city. It is, however, celebrated for a magnificent Mosque, of which travellers and Mussulmen speak in the highest terms, and it is said to be superior in embellishments to the Mosque built at Tunis by the Sapatapa, which cost a million of dollars. In searching for pillars to support this Mosque, the whole range of sea coast, from the Promontory of Mercury, to the Gulf of Cabes, was strictly examined, and it is said, that the Mosque contains 500 pillars of marble, many of which are Jasper and *Verd Antique*. Kair-wan carries on a considerable trade with Susa, Sfax and Tunis; it is walled, and defended by several forts. The want of a correct map, added to the ignorance and jealousy of the Mussulmen, a stranger finds great difficulty in ascertaining the extent, population, and wealth of the towns in the interior.

Behind Kair-wan are the mountains of *Usalitanus* of antiquity, which furnished the cavalry of Massanissa with some of its most active and warlike soldiers; they are at present but thinly inhabited, and are supposed to contain mines of lead and silver.

Taking a direction towards the south and the sea coast, passing over several beds of river, and at a distance of twenty miles from Kair-wan, and about six miles from Ruspina, is *El Gemme*, celebrated for the ruins of a spacious amphitheatre. This was the *Tisro* or *Tisdra* of antiquity, which Cæsar for some time made the head-quarters of his army. All the inhabitants of Tunis are acquainted with this amphitheatre, as being one of the most splendid relics in Africa, and probably not exceeded by any in Europe. It was used once as a fortification, and to give it a proper character for defence, they blew up the facades and destroyed the entrances. It had sixty-four arches, the arena is circular, and from its being cased with marble, and having a deep well in the centre, there is reason to believe that it was used for the *Naumachia*, the seats and vomitorios are entire, and the whole present a sublime spectacle of a building, spacious and splendid, and standing entire, surrounded by a waste of sand, and blackened by age. Very little has ever been said respecting this amphitheatre. Dr. Shaw believes, and with good cause, “that as the elder Gordian was proclaimed Emperor at this city, it is not improbable, that in gratitude to the place where he received the purple, he might have been the founder of it.”

Pursuing a course towards the westward, between *El Gemme* and *Keff*, the boundary of the kingdom, a variety of towns and villages present themselves, bearing more or less interesting vestiges of antiquity, and somewhat thickly settled; but there is no place where the antiquities are so extensive as at *Spaitla*, thirty miles from the Algerine borders. This was the *Sufetula* of the ancients, and is situated near the river *Wad-al-hatab*. It has a triumphal arch, built in the usual manner, with a large centre, and two smaller arches, splendidly embellished, and in the most light and ornamental style of architecture. From this arch a spacious causeway is built, like the Appian way in Rome, flagged with square stones, with only the difference, that on each side of this walk is a breast-work; it leads to a portico, light and airy, which is finally terminated by three temples in good preservation. The triumphal arches bear the following inscription:—

IMP. CÆSAR AVG. * * * * *
 * * * * * ONIN * * * * *
 * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * *

* * SVFFETVLENTIVM

* * * HANC EDIFICAVERAT

ET DD PP.

Eighteen miles east of Sufetula, is Gilma, the *Cilma* of antiquity, which has yet the area of a temple, in good preservation. To the west, and about the same distance, is Cassareen, the *Colonia Scillitana* of the ancients. This village is thickly inhabited by the Moors, and is pleasantly situated, near the river Derb. There is a curious Triumphal Arch, placed upon a singular kind of eminence, in good preservation, but of a heavy and gloomy style of architecture. This place is filled with inscriptions, which proves, that the colony of the Scillitana, was formed into a Roman province after the destruction of Carthage. Cassareen has a variety of mausolia, or small towers, the facades and entablatures of which, contain curious prose and poetic inscriptions.

Twenty miles further, westward from the *Colonia Scillitana*, are the remains of Ferre-anah, supposed to be, from its isolated situation, the *Thala* of antiquity, once the largest city of Bizacium.—Jugurtha, after his defeat by Metellus, fled to Thala. Florus, Procopius, Cellarius, and St. Cyprian, have spoken much respecting Thala, and after a strict inquiry by geographers, they all seem to unite in placing it at Ferre-anah. This town was originally walled, and has but few remains of antiquity. A copious stream of water runs near it, and the inhabitants trade in corn and wool.

Thirty-six miles to the south-east of Ferre-anah, and approaching the country of the *Jereed*, is the town of Gafsa, formerly the *Capse* of Jugurtha, which is pleasantly situated on a rising ground, surrounded by cultivation. There is a variety of curious inscriptions in this town, together with the remains of baths, reservoirs, and broken colonnades.

Twelve miles to the south-west of Gafsa, is Gorbata, the ancient *Orbita*, a small town, having few if any relics of antiquity. This town lies on the borders of the *Jereed*, or dry country, into which, it does not appear that the Romans or Carthaginians proceeded far, and about six leagues further, is the lake *Shiek-ellawdeah*, or *Lake of Marks*, so called from its being studded with small islands. The

distance of this lake from the lesser Syrtis, is not considerable, and may, therefore, with propriety, be taken for the *Palus Tritonus* of the ancients, spoken of by Pliny, Mela, Pallas, Callimachus, and Ptolemy. This, with a few towns of no great note, very nearly reach the boundary of the kingdom.

Tribes of wandering Arabs, of traders, and of the military, are constantly traversing this country, and arriving at Tunis, on commercial or political affairs. I made it a point to inquire of these people, the Arab name of the place to which they belonged, together with a description of such antiquities as still existed, and the face of the country. These I compared with ancient names, as mentioned by geographers, and found them generally to correspond.

The sites of ancient places, together with inscriptions, have been faithfully observed in the rapid tour of Dr. Shaw, who has more leisurely arranged and collated his notes. His work, therefore, may be considered the most faithful on the antiquities of the country, and to these antiquities, he has, in the opinion of many, sacrificed more important accounts of the modern history of Barbary. This history, I have some reason to hope, will constitute, ere long, a subject of strict inquiry, by some European power who has the inclination and means, to give a very different character to this interesting and valuable country, which combines a climate and soil more salubrious, rich and fertile, more capable of cultivation, and possessing marine depots, and commanding situations, in greater abundance than the European possessions on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean.

About the beginning of May, the privateer Abællino returned from Tripoli, the English had raised the blockade, as hostilities between the two countries were to cease, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty of Ghent. The prize masters of the two vessels illegally captured within the waters of the Bey of Tunis, made a declaration of facts, according to law, and they were valued at \$46,000. In affixing this value, I was aware, that had the vessels and cargoes been sold in Tunis, they would not have netted half that sum; but as peace had taken place, there existed no obstacle to their clearing for the United States, and as their cargo consisted of fresh currants, oil and fish, together

with other articles, I was persuaded that they would have yielded that sum.

The privateer departed for Marseilles, for a homeward cargo, and I lost no time in calling upon the Minister of Marine, presenting the protest, and demanding payment. He again refused paying for their value, and recapitulated the various sums of money and presents which our government had made to the Regency, to purchase their good will; and finally assured me, that if the British restored these vessels, I should have them, if not, the Bey would sustain no loss, as he would not pay a piastre. On this subject, his excellency and myself had another warm argument, and I assured him that whatever might have been the policy heretofore pursued by our government, that the time had arrived, when we could not, consistent with our national honour, submit to any aggressions from a foreign power; that it was not the value of these vessels, but the principle, connected with the protection of our rights, and maintenance of our treaty, which demanded prompt redress in this instance; that if the British could be permitted to capture our vessels, within the waters, and under the jurisdiction of the Bey, there was no assigning limits to their depredations; and when the Bey was compelled to make good their injuries and depredations, a sense of justice would probably prevent a repetition of such measures. The Minister repeated his firm refusal to pay any part of the sum, and we separated.

Our discussions on this subject naturally led to a consideration of the measures contemplated to be pursued towards the Algerines. Peace had been proclaimed with Great Britain, and, contrary to the expectation of European powers generally, and particularly of the Algerines, the conclusion of the war found the American navy increased in magnitude, and advanced in character; and just released from a successful contest with a powerful nation, was fully prepared to redress our wrongs, and the wrongs which civilized powers had generally sustained from the barbarians in Africa.

The history of our relations with the Barbary States, presents some curious facts. Our connexion with these Regencies was originally predicated upon tributes and presents, which we would fain have avoided, had not the example of other nations, joined to our maritime weakness, and the want of commerce, induced us to

conform to a custom, "more honoured in the breach, than the observance."

After the conclusion of our war for Independence, and the adoption of the constitution, the flag of the United States became familiar to these pirates, and they would no longer permit us to seek the protection of any power, but urged the necessity in their prompt mode of forming a treaty and paying tribute. Col. Humphries, then minister at Portugal, concluded a treaty with Morocco, and through the agency of the American Minister at St. James, treaties, conformable to those of other nations, were concluded with all the Regencies, which were subjected to those occasional infractions, which the rapacity of these people were instrumental in committing. Our commerce began to increase, and the safety of our seamen in the Mediterranean, urged upon the government the expediency of complying with the demands of the Barbary States. We had no navy, at that period, capable of enforcing our treaty, and we enjoyed a consideration due to our tributes, not to our worth.

Joel Barlow was at Algiers, a man whose talents, inquiring mind, and conciliating conduct, admirably qualified him for a public station.

At Tangier, a foreigner, Mr. Simpson, was appointed, and at Tunis and Tripoli, we had agents, ignorant of our country and its policy, and who were only tolerated, in correspondence with their presents.

A dispute with Algiers, threw some American seamen in their power, who were made captives, and subjected to the well known rigour of the country. This difference was adjusted, and one of the captives, capt O'Brien, was injudiciously appointed Consul, under an impression, that his long residence had familiarized him with their manner and customs; but forgetting that the representative of the United States should be a person capable of commanding, not being commanded, and that little deference would be paid to a public functionary, whom the good people had been in the habit of bastinadoing. Capt. O'Brien bustled through with these barbarians in the best possible manner, alternately remonstrating, in his peculiar nautical style, and alternately paying money and tributes; but, to do him justice, frequently urging the necessity of resisting these

aggressions. The picture of our relation for several years, never varied in its hateful colours of insult and tribute.

In 1798, President Adams appointed James Leander Cathcart, Consul at Tripoli ; and William Eaton, well known for his extraordinary and eccentric character, Consul at Tunis. Our affairs at this Regency, had been assigned to the care of a Frenchman, by the name of Famin, very improperly appointed by Mr. Barlow, and yet more improperly authorized to negotiate a treaty with Hamouda Pacha. Feeling no interest for the United States, a stranger to our country and laws, Famin, bribed by the Sapatapa and the Bey, concluded a treaty, introduced sundry articles hostile to the interest and character of the country, which were rejected by the Senate, and the two first gentlemen, in conjunction with Consul O'Brien, were instructed to negotiate a more suitable compact.

To convey an idea of the cost of our treaty with Algiers, and in order to show the importance and advantage of our present relations by contrast, it is proper to state, that when Eaton and Cathcart took their departure for the coast of Barbary, we sent with them a beautiful brig of war mounting eight six pounders, a schooner mounting sixteen double fortified four pounders, and another vessel of war of fourteen four pounders, together with a ship of 350 tons, laden with naval stores; independent of jewels and money. This, as Dr. Franklin would say, " was paying dear for the whistle."

Messrs. Eaton and Cathcart arrived at Tunis, and commenced their negotiations under the most discouraging difficulties. The presents made to Algiers had awakened the cupidity of Hamouda Pacha, and when joined to the avarice of the Sapatapa, and the perfidy of Famin, difficulties were created, which only could end in war, in the acceptance of the treaty just formed, defective as it was, or in new tributes and presents. The negotiation terminated, by amending the article relative to commerce, but retaining one or two discreditable articles, relative to salutes and protection of slaves, and for which additional presents were made.

Consul Cathcart took his departure for Tripoli, with which Regency, at that time, we maintained a good tributary understanding.

From this period to the year 1801, Consul Eaton continued at Tunis in a state of constant irritation, subjected to the insolent demands of a nest of pirates, which he resisted with a firmness bordering on indiscretion. Our affairs began to assume a very different and interesting aspect, and a dispute with Tripoli laid the foundation of a war, in which the navy of the United States received a fixed victorious character, and paved the way for those great advantages which it has produced, and still promises to continue to our country. This dispute with Tripoli grew out of various causes. Jusef Pacha refused to accept of the passports issued by the government to his cruisers, and felt disposed to dictate a form which could not be permitted by any independent power. With this people, war and peace is decided upon by them alone, and a treaty becomes a dead letter, when they are tired of peace and have confidence in their superior strength. Then the most frivolous pretext is sufficiently strong to dissolve the relations, and new demands of tribute and presents are made to reconcile the pretended breach. In addition to the foregoing cause of complaint, the Pacha made certain demands of the Consul, which clearly violated the stipulations of the treaty, and threatened to declare war against the United States, upon the non-compliance with his claim. An American vessel had also been captured, and the Pacha made a distinct claim for \$100,000, and a tributary treaty.

These facts, when in possession of the government, produced a very general attention to our relations with the Barbary States. The tributes which had been paid, the immense sums which had been distributed in presents, the increasing rapacity of the chief officers in those Regencies, and our condition to resist those aggressions, were separately the subjects of reflection and consideration, and it was at length resolved, happily for our country, that a squadron of three frigates and a sloop of war should be dispatched to the Mediterranean, under the command of Commodore Dale.

The policy of exhibiting a naval force in that sea, was admitted on all sides, yet the object was more to intimidate by its presence, than to commence a serious resistance, and fears were entertained that a war with Tripoli might induce all the powers of Barbary to confederate against the United States ; to prevent which, a cargo of naval stores was sent to Tunis, and Mr. King, our Minister at London, was instructed to have a present of jewels made, to the

value of \$10,000, which were completed. To Algiers we continued the faithful fulfilment of our treaty, together with some important additions required by the pressure of the times ; and with Morocco, our relations continued to be amicably supported, without much expense. Having thus contrived to give each " Cerberus a sop," we had only Tripoli to contend with, and felt that our naval force was fully commensurate to any resistance which the barbarians were capable of making. President Jefferson, one of the best and most pacific men, whose only error was ingrafting negotiation upon war, wrote a very complimentary letter to the Pacha of Tripoli, recommending this squadron to his hospitality, and informing him that his object was to exercise the seamen, and look after the commerce. The Pacha, who expected a more belligerent introduction, shrugged up his shoulders, and, as might be inferred, construed this politeness into fear, which only served to confirm his original determinations.

The Ministers at European courts were instructed, by a circular, to represent the object of this naval expedition, in order to guard against misconception. Before this squadron arrived, the Pacha had ventured upon the first step, and on the 24th of May, 1801, a day which should be remarkable in the naval annals of the United States, the ceremony of cutting down the American flag-staff was performed in presence of the Seraskier, and the functions of the Consul were suspended, though he was treated with deference, and had permission to leave the place. The proper department instructed Commodore Dale to ascertain, on his arrival in the Mediterranean, the state of our relations with Barbary, and if they were found pacific, to coast on the Egyptian and Syrian shores to Smyrna, to return by the mouth of the Adriatic, pay another visit to the ports in Barbary, from thence to Italy, and if no cause of apprehension existed, to return home. But, in the event of war being declared by any, or by all the Barbary States, then the Commodore was instructed to make such dispositions with his force, as to guarantee effective service, and to carry on the war with an energy becoming the American character.

On the arrival of the squadron at Gibraltar, Commodore Dale found the Tripolitan Admiral in the bay, with his ship of 26 guns, and a brig of 16 guns. The Admiral, like a very shrewd man, assured Commodore Dale that war was not declared, although at that

period the American flag-staff had been cut down forty days, and this squadron was specially instructed to capture American vessels. Whether the Commodore gave credit to the story of the Tripolitan Admiral, or had not a competent force to keep him in Gibraltar, and answer other demands for his protection, is not known, but he sailed for Tripoli and arrived before that place on the 24th of July. Mr. Cathcart had left Tripoli, and had commissioned Mr. Nissen, the Danish Consul, a generous and worthy man, to take charge of our affairs. The Bey requested Mr. Nissen to write a letter to Commodore Dale, and ask the object of his visit, to which the Commodore replied, that his intentions originally were of a pacific nature, but the Pacha had put it out of his power to continue favourably disposed, and that he should employ the force under his command to capture his vessels wherever he could find them, and he desired to know his reasons for declaring war, and his expectations in terminating the difference. The next day, the Pacha of Tripoli sent his commercial agent, Leon Fanfara, a Jew, on board the squadron, to *negotiate a truce or peace*. I wish the reader to notice this fact, that Jusef Pacha commissioned a Jew to negotiate this treaty with the United States ; my reasons for being particular on this point, will appear in the sequel ; it proves that with all this supposed oppression, that the Sovereigns in the Barbary States confide important negotiations to their care and discernment.—Commodore Dale, having no power to negotiate a treaty, continued about eighteen days to blockade the port, without any affair of interest, and then stretched off to Malta. In the mean time, the first naval victory achieved over the barbarians, was by Lieut. Sterret, who commanded the *Enterprise*, then a schooner, now a brig, and always a fortunate vessel. On the first of August he fell in with a Tripolitan ship, called the *Tripoli*, of 14 guns, commanded by Rais Mahomet Sous. The action was desperately maintained for three hours ; the Turks fighting with their usual gallantry, and the Americans with an energy and perseverance calculated to make a serious impression on their enemies. The Tripolitan, though a vessel of greater force, was captured with the loss of twenty men killed and thirty wounded, among the latter was her Captain and first Lieutenant ; the American vessel had not a man injured, and to show the promptness and precision of the firing, the Tripolitan was cut to pieces in her hull and rigging, and had her mizen-mast carried away. As it was not distinctly known that war had been

declared by Tripoli, and conformable to previous orders, the captured vessel was dismantled, her guns thrown overboard, and she was given up.

The squadron, on leaving Malta, boarded a Greek ship, and the Commodore took out about forty Tripolitans, fearing that some Americans had been captured, and with a view of proposing an exchange. On his arrival at Tripoli, he sent three of the prisoners on shore, and the Pacha the next day, requested Mr. Nissen to go on board the squadron to propose a truce. This the Commodore had no power to conclude, and after some inefficient attempts to exchange prisoners, he raised the blockade, and returned to Gibraltar, finding his crew sickly and no important indications of hostility. The Tripolitan Admiral had been subsequently blockaded at Gibraltar, and finally had dismantled his vessels, and took his passage on board an English brig for Malta.

The American government continued to be impressed with the necessity of still retaining a small force in the Mediterranean, although it was not anticipated, that the hostilities of the Tripolitans would assume a form requiring more active measures. In the mean time, the Pacha continued to build some vessels, and to put his fortifications in a state of defence; he regretted that he had declared war, but his cupidity still got the better of his prudence, and he determined to persist in his demands, which had become somewhat strengthened by the capture of one or two merchant vessels.

The United States squadron increased in the Mediterranean, and, at different periods, was under the command of Commodores Dale, Morris, Murray, Preble, and Rogers. Those who have of late distinguished themselves, and added lustre to the American character, were, at that period, with few exceptions, Lieutenants and subordinate officers, and it was in that school of active warfare, that they acquired a character, which since has been successfully matured, and honourably exhibited.

During the operations against Tripoli, Consul Eaton remained at Tunis, an uneasy spectator of passing events. The very singular part assigned to him in this war, and his chivalrous proofs of bravery and enterprise, together with the unexpected and unjust termination of his duties, have combined to give him a distinguished

name in connection with the Barbary States. Mr. Eaton was originally a Captain in the United States army, and in his appointment as Consul at Tunis, it is evident, that the government omitted to ascertain, whether his temper and qualifications were commensurate with the duties incumbent on that delicate and difficult station. Eaton was transferred from a military command to a civil post, he carried with him all his ideas of subordination, obedience, and deference, together with that high sense of honour, which, I persuade myself, cannot be denied to an American officer. He found, on his arrival at Tunis, that our country was only esteemed according to its capacity, in administering to the cupidity of these barbarians ; he found a disgraceful treaty, and a people, whose valour and worth he knew how to estimate, despised and insulted. Irritated at the cool and methodical intrigues of these people, deficient in temper and prudence to meet and thwart their projects, restless and discontented, he was ever engaged in disputes. Possessed of a fiery and ungovernable spirit, he obeyed its first impulse. If a Turk insulted him, he knocked him down in despite of religious bigotry ; if the Bey or his officers treated him cavalierly, he retorted bitterly ; he maintained a proud and sullen independence, which could not in all cases be judiciously exercised in Barbary. A Consul, to serve his country, and that is the object of his appointment, must conform to the customs of the place, be mild, polite, affable and generous ; but, withal, dreadfully energetic and firm on points, connected with the integrity of his country, and to yield any thing but a point of honor. Such a course will produce esteem and respect, and, above all, fear.

Eaton could not bend to these people,—they cheated him in commerce, and he openly proclaimed their villainy, and what should have been avoided, he quarrelled with our naval commanders, when their prudence checked the operation of his plans. He was for trampling the barbarians and their tributary treaties into dust, pouring all the vengeance and power of the people upon them, and carrying on a war with vigour, spirit, and effect, which, however necessary, was not at that period in our power to effect. Many of his views and sentiments were correct and vigorous, many of his plans were weak and evanescent. At length an enterprise presented itself which he could not avoid embracing. In the Regency of Tunis, resided the exiled Pacha of Tripoli, Hamet Car-

ramalli, brother of Jusef, the reigning Pacha. Intrigues, and a preponderance of power, gave Jusef the throne, which of right belonged to his brother, and for which he promised him the government of Derne. Hamet, on the declaration of war by Tripoli, imagined that the Americans could be instrumental in restoring to him his throne and family, for which service he was prepared to ratify an honourable and advantageous treaty, and proposed to Eaton an arrangement embracing these objects. Nothing, however, could be more foreign from the character and institutions of our country, than an interference in the domestic concerns of two claimants for a crown. With the legitimate right of kings we have nothing to do, neither could it be expected, that a republic was to maintain a contest for the purpose of confirming the rights of either of these Moslem branches of the houses of "York and Lancaster." Still Hamet was considered more as an instrument than an ally, and it was supposed by Eaton, that if a party could be raised in his favour, and Tripoli attacked by land and water, that the release of our citizens, and an honourable peace would be the issue ; and if Hamet could be restored to his throne, and this result produced, both parties had gained something by the alliance. A partial arrangement was entered into with this exiled chief, and Eaton returned to the United States, to explain in person, the object and purposes of this alliance.

Prior to this, our operations had assumed a more vigorous complexion, and acts of heroism and valour were displayed by our little navy, which produced applause, and created admiration throughout Europe.

The Philadelphia Frigate,, attached to the blockading squadron, was at that period, under the command of Capt. Bainbridge, and in making observations near the harbour, she unfortunately grounded ; the utmost exertions of the crew could not release her from her perilous situation. The batteries commenced a heavy cannonade, which was returned by the Frigate, until her guns were under water ; it was proposed to blow her up, but the sacrifice of brave men was not required by the exigency of the case, and thus disabled from making further resistance, they struck the flag, and a number of gun boats took possession of the vessel, and made the captain and crew prisoners. In the ordinary course of warfare with civilized powers, this accident would have produced no inju-

rious effect ; but it was a very serious and distressing event, as it subjected the crew to slavery, and swelled the pride, and increased the demands of the barbarian chief. The prisoners were stripped, robbed, maltreated, and, as usual, closely confined ; the officers received more deference, but few indulgencies, and they maintained a spirit of independence in their captivity, which the Tripolitans could not but admire. The Pacha, flattered at the idea of having the addition of a fine frigate to his navy, and perfectly indifferent as to the glory of achieving her by accident, or by contest, used every exertion to get the ship off the rocks, and after incredible difficulty, aided by a gale of wind and a heavy sea, she floated, with considerable water in her hold, and much damage. In a short time she was repaired, manned, and came to anchor under the batteries. The frigate was constantly in sight of the blockading squadron, and an object of regret and mortification. At length a project was formed of firing her, which was as quickly executed, and Decatur, with a few gallant spirits, in a small Xebeque, ran along side, boarded, captured, and burnt her to the waters edge ; and retreated without loss. This blow was severely felt by the Pacha, and revenged by additional illtreatment of his prisoners, and he determined to close the war on his own terms.

Commodore Preble resolved to attack the batteries with his small force, which consisted of one or two frigates, three or four sloops of war, and a dozen small vessels, including gun-boats. This force was cramped for want of liberal appropriations. Congress, at that period, was fearful of the cost in increasing the navy, and this extended the war, and subjected the country to a considerable expense. Tripoli is well fortified, and her navy consisted of some twenty good gun-boats, and a few schooners. The attack commenced at mid-day, by a furious cannonade, and our gun-boats grappled with the Turks, and the officers and crew performed prodigies of valour. Most of our present distinguished naval officers were engaged in that memorable contest, and several of them were desperately wounded, and many, at this day, bear honourable scars gained in that spirited contest. The attack lasted four or five hours, several of their gun boats were taken and destroyed, the fortifications and town suffered severely, and they lost many men, and the Americans, to use the language of an English writer on the subject, " displayed more desperate bravery than cool courage."

While our squadron blockaded Tripoli, frequent occasions presented themselves, to run in the harbour, and commence an attack. The Turks were harrassed by this continuance of hostilities, but inflexible in their demands. After one of these desperate attacks, in which their works of defence and navy were seriously injured, the Pacha proposed peace, upon the payment of \$500 for each prisoner, and renounced all other claims. This proposition was rejected, and here let it be distinctly observed, that the rejection of this proposition precluded the possibility of its renewal at a subsequent period, consistent with our national honour.

We had maintained a spirited contest for many months, in the course of which, our resources and national character had been very advantageously developed ; we felt that we could chastise the Turk, and make peace upon our own terms, he had already been humbled, and all that was necessary, was to persevere, until victory enabled us to dictate a treaty.

Eaton had arrived home, and spread his plans before the administration ; they were approved ; “ we considered,” says President Jefferson, in his message to Congress, “ that concerted operations, by those who have a common enemy, were entirely justifiable, and might produce effects favourable to both, without binding either to guarantee the objects of the other.” Such doctrines in alliance, are very dangerous, there must be a reciprocity of interest—a mutual guarantee ; such loose, vague and indefinite connexions, can only produce injury to the public interest, because, after venturing much with an ally, to achieve an object, he may, governed by such constructions, abandon us whenever his purpose has been accomplished, and at all events, if we cannot do every thing for an ally originally contemplated, we are bound to place him in a posture equally strong and respectable, as where we found him.

Eaton took his passage for the Mediterranean, and after some delays and difficulties, he arrived at Alexandria, in search of Hamet Caramalli, the exiled brother of Jusef Pacha. Finding some obstacles to contend with, in consequence of the suspicions and jealousies of the Turks, which were not allayed by the insinuations of the French Consul, he repaired to Cairo, and there learned that Hamet was under the protection of Elfi Bey.

From some Tripolitan emigrants, Eaton discovered, that the various attacks of the Americans had dispirited the Pacha, that the people had become alarmed for the safety of the city, and that no business could be transacted; and, finally, the adherents of Hamet had daily increased, and the Pacha was disposed to conclude a peace on such terms as the Americans would admit. This intelligence induced him to use every exertion to meet Hamet Caramalli, and accordingly, on the 23d of February, a treaty was concluded with him by Eaton, authorized and empowered to that effect by the United States. This treaty stipulated, that the United States would use the utmost exertion, "so far as comports with their own honour and interest, their subsisting treaties, and the acknowledged law of nations, to re-establish the said Hamet Pacha in the possession of his sovereignty of Tripoli." And further, the United States was to be indemnified in their expense, by a transfer of the tributes stipulated to be paid by Denmark, Sweden and Holland, and, finally, that William Eaton was to be appointed general and commander in chief of all the land forces. This was, therefore, a strong treaty of alliance, in which we were to make all honourable efforts to restore Hamet Caramalli to his throne, and he was to reimburse us, by pledging the tributes of several European powers. The remuneration for our expense was rather discreditable, but the contract was reciprocal.

On the second of March, 1805, General Eaton marched with a small staff, the Pacha Hamet, and a body of Arabs, Turks, and Bedouins, of various denominations and characters, poorly equipped and organized, and not amounting, with women and children, at any period, to more than five hundred men; also with a limited stock of provisions, and but little money. A small squadron of vessels were to be off Derne with supplies.

There is, in this expedition of General Eaton, something which resembles the character of romance, when viewed in all its bearings. The reigning Pacha of Tripoli, declares war against us, for refusing to comply with his sordid views; we attack him with spirit, and accident throws several hundreds of our citizens in his power. Tripoli is closely invested by sea, while Eaton, with a few followers, discovers the legitimate sovereign, and with his ragged regiments, prepares to make a diversion by land, passes over deserts, surmounts incredible difficulties, fights his way, and

sacrifices his comfort and safety, to secure an honourable peace to his country, and liberate his captive countrymen. Such generous and patriotic services cannot be too highly estimated, he exhibited a proof of courage and enterprise, which has no parallel in modern times. Whatever may have been the result of the attempt, the motives were highly honourable to humanity, and merits the applause of civilized nations.

It is to be lamented, that such was the military zeal and ardour of Eaton, in this expedition, that he omitted noticing the various antiquities of the country through which he had marched; his journal is a mere recapitulation of daily events, disputes between jealous and dangerous allies, difficulties and perils, until his arrival before Derne. He had but nine Americans with him, and a few Greeks, and the whole expedition had more the appearance of a troop of wandering Arabs, with their tents and camels, than a regular organized force, on a march of several hundred miles, to restore an exiled sovereign, and achieve a peace. Until the 15th of April, upwards of forty days march across the desert of Lybia, nothing of interest occurred. "We camped this day," says general Eaton, in a pleasant valley of rich strong land, but totally uncultivated, good and abundant feed for our horses, and sundry cisterns, excavated in the ridges, on the borders of the valley, contained excellent rain water, but we were totally destitute of provisions. Near these cisterns, and in the valleys, are the ruins of ancient architecture, and visible marks of cultivation, but now all is waste."—It was desirable that Eaton should have taken some pains to have examined these antiquities, in order to have given them a name and character. It is, however, certain, that he had, at this period, entered the *Cyrenaica* of the ancients, once called the *Pentapolis*, from having contained those splendid cities, so well known in antiquity, *Cyrene*, *Appolinica*, *Ptolemais*, and *Berenice*.

Eaton had reached Bomba, near which the *Paliarus* of Pliny empties itself in the Mediterranean, and within view of Cape Razatin, the *Ras Iathuc* of the ancients. Here the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, celebrated for its splendid ornaments and noble style of architecture, was erected, but more distinguished for having been visited by Alexander the Great, prior to his subjugation of India.—The whole of this plain is covered with curious antiquities, spoken

of by Bruce, but hardly noticed by Eaton, whose head was filled with "guns and drums, heaven save the mark."

At Bomba, he found the *Argus*, capt. Hull, and the *Hornet*, capt. Dent, having provisions for his famished troops, and money to silence their clamours. On the 25th of April, they arrived in sight of Derne. This town, the *Darnis* of the ancients, is pleasantly situated, within view of the sea, and, in former times, was a port of considerable importance. It contains about 5000 inhabitants, and is defended by an old castle.

The news of the approach of Eaton and Hamet Caramalli, created great uneasiness in the mind of Yusef Pacha. Such is the uncertain tenure by which these Barbary chiefs maintain their power, that the least movement of revolt among their subjects, fills them with alarm. Tripoli was strongly invested by sea, and all succours from that quarter cut off. An army headed by his brother, coming to claim the throne, who had already a party in his favour, had entered his territory in arms; assailed on all sides, his manufacturing and mercantile interest destroyed, the Americans gaining daily advantages, and improving in their system of warfare, which, at this period, from their success and general applause, they were disposed to continue vigorously, the Pacha saw no favourable prospect of terminating the war on his own terms, and while he gave orders to fortify Derne, and sent out troops to its succour, he determined to end the war at once.

In the mean time, the governor of Derne made all possible preparation to resist the invading force; and General Eaton, together with the Pacha Hamet, disposed of their small army to the best advantage. The *Argus*, *Nautilus*, and *Hornet*, were enabled to come within gun-shot of the town; prior to the attack, Eaton sent a flag of truce and a letter to the Governor, proposing terms for his surrender, he returned for answer, "*my head or yours*"—it would have done credit to Leonidas. The attack then commenced, and was continued with great spirit and vigour, by both parties, for two hours; finally the town was carried by assault, the batteries taken possession of, and the American flag was displayed on the walls of this city, in the *Lybian desert*, in the 30th year of American Independence. General Eaton was wounded, by a ball through his wrist, and about fourteen of the Christians were killed,

together with a considerable number of Mussulmen on both sides. The Governor of Derne took refuge in a Mosque, where he was protected, and tranquillity was restored, after dispositions had been made to put the town in a state of defence. Thus, after a tedious and suffering march, over several hundred miles of desert, a few enterprising Americans, headed by a zealous and brave officer, succeeded in wresting the second town, and one half of the kingdom of Tripoli, from the reigning sovereign. Yusef Pacha learned the capture of Derne, and lost no time to propose peace.

On board of the blockading squadron was Col. Lear, who had just arrived from the United States, commissioned as Consul-General to the Regencies of Barbary. This gentleman was a distant relation by marriage to General Washington, and was, at his death, his private secretary. Although no political affinity existed between the administration and Mr. Lear, he became, shortly after the death of the General, an object of respectful attention to the government. Col. Lear possessed no extraordinary acquirements, his talents were barely passable, but his manners and character were very respectable. In his intercourse with his great patron, he had acquired a portion of his prudence, without any of his energy; cold, calculating and timid, he was named for a mission, requiring spirit, promptness and decision. Whether Jusef Pacha was acquainted with the character of the Commissioner, or experimented conformable to custom, is not known. On the 26th of May, 1805, he intimated his desire to terminate the war, and Col. Lear, in the Essex frigate, opened a communication with him on the subject. As should have been anticipated, the Pacha renewed his original propositions, of payment for a treaty, and for the prisoners, amounting to \$200,000. This proposition was rejected, it only remained then, for the Bey to shape his terms, to correspond with our national honour, strength and advantages. Any person familiar with the policy of the Regencies in Barbary, cannot be ignorant, that their pretensions are ever predicated on extravagant grounds, and that they abandon these pretensions, with the utmost indifference, when they are resisted with firmness. When the original proposition of the Pacha was rejected by Col. Lear, it only remained for him to renew it, in a more admissible form; but unacquainted with these people, or their habits, the Colonel *himself* proposed to pay *Sixty Thousand Dollars*, and to deliver up the Tri-

politan prisoners, for an adjustment of the existing difficulties, and ransom of our captives. This proposition from us, was rapturously acceded to, and at the last moment, the Pacha triumphed over us. Thus terminated a war of four years, originally declared against us, from motives of avarice, and a desire to render us tributary. It was resisted with a steadiness and valour, which paved the way for subsequent success, and always with a determination, of concluding the war without pecuniary or national sacrifice.

It was not the sum of \$60,000, which was an object of complaint. It was the voluntary tender of that sum, to terminate the war, at the moment when the Pacha was determined to terminate it on our own terms, even if they contemplated an indemnity from him. Had we nothing to offer but money? Derne at this period had been thirty days in our possession, we had half of his kingdom, and 20,000 of his people under our control, war and peace were in our hands, and had we proposed as an ultimatum, to restore his possessions for our captives, and thus conclude a peace reciprocally honourable, it cannot be doubted but that they would have been immediately acceded to.

General Eaton and his troops withdrew from Derne disappointed; they would have been before Tripoli with an augmented force in fourteen days; the restoration of Hamet Caramalli, and the fulfilment of our treaty with him, would unquestionably have been the result.

Eaton returned to the United States, and had to contend with a variety of obstacles in the liquidation of his accounts; his services and sufferings, he considered, were not duly appreciated by the government; he became petulant and irascible, and finally intemperate, which led to his death.

Eaton was an honourable generous man, sincerely devoted to his country, and ardent in his zeal for its glory; had his temper been more mild and persuasive, and his character and services more correctly estimated, he would have ranked among our most distinguished citizens. His sensibility, however, could not brook the indifference with which his services were regarded, nor could he tamely submit to have his honours snatched away, by the ill-concerted arrangements of another—and one, who measured the principles and effects of an active and spirited war, by the cold calcula-

tion, and rigid scrutiny, of pacific, tributary negotiation. The appointment of Col. Lear to that mission, and its result, proved the inexpediency of granting powers to a person whose habits and qualifications prevented him from entering into the spirit of the contest ; and who, when victory was rushing towards us, in a broad rapid stream, introduced an " icy current and compulsive course," which turned it into new, unexpected, and expensive channels.

The gratification experienced by our citizens, on the restoration of so many valuable friends from captivity, prevented a close attention to the circumstances which led to peace. Our navy, however, from its operations and frequent visits in the bay of Tunis, had inspired Hamouda Pacha with the utmost respect, and he lowered his demands, and very essentially his tone to our Consuls.

General Eaton was succeeded in Tunis by Dr. George Davis, of New-York. This gentleman was then a surgeon in the navy, and from his character and habits, it was presumed, that the appointment would be acceptable to the Bey. Dr. Davis was among the very few officers whose conduct, habits, and temper, eminently qualified him for a station in Barbary. Attentive to his duties, industrious in his research, mild and amiable in his manners, and withal firm yet prudent in his remonstrances, he was very deservedly esteemed, and his services in the Barbary States, were correctly estimated by the government.

Colonel Lear took up his residence at Algiers. Our operations before Tripoli had produced some effect upon the Dey, he respected us more than he formerly did, but still did not fear us. He was aware, that in his marine and works of defence, he could place great reliance, and imagined that tired of war, we should be glad to continue to purchase peace with him on the usual terms. He was pleased with Colonel Lear, he admired the payment of \$60,000 for a peace with Tripoli, and made favourable calculations of drawing occasionally through him, on the Treasury of the United States, in which he was not disappointed.

Tripoli had excited a great interest in the United States, and each vessel brought some additional account of the government and the customs of the people.

Tripoli, the *Æo* of the ancients, and the *Trablis* of the Mussulmen, is the capital of the kingdom of the same name, which king-

dom, the most extensive in the Barbary States, reaches from the island of Jerbi to Cape Razatin, a distance of eight hundred miles. There is some difficulty in deciding the extent of territory in the interior, as the desert in this kingdom, in some places, is near the sea coast; and although there are not as many interesting sites of ancient cities as in the kingdom of Tunis, there is, nevertheless, in the Cyrenaica, the remains of several splendid cities, and doubtless objects of great curiosity, as that line of coast is not much frequented.

The kingdom is bounded by the desert of Barca, towards the east, on the south by Fezzan, and on the west by Tunis.

Derne may be considered as the second port of consequence, next to which is Bomba, then Bengazi, the ancient and well known city of *Berenice*.

This town, the chief city of the *Pentapolis*, is now decayed and poor, and may contain about 4000 inhabitants. It has an excellent port, which can be made of great consequence.

Not many miles from Bengazi, in the interior, are the remains of *Ptolemais*, the splendid city of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which, according to Bruce, contains many rare and curious specimens of antiquity, together with its wall and gates entire.

From Bengazi, the *Syrtis Major* takes its semi-circular sweep, and embraces full four hundred miles of sea coast, which is very seldom visited.

The interior is frequented by small parties of Arabs, who lead a savage and wretched life, as the soil on the borders of this gulf is barren and sandy. In ancient times it was filled with large and populous cities, and I entertain no doubt, that an inland journey from Tripoli to Derne, which, with proper guards, could be safely pursued, would result in many curious and interesting discoveries.

A few days journey from Tripoli, are the remains of the celebrated Lepida, the *Leptis Magna* of the ancients, one of the oldest cities in Africa, founded by the Phœnicians, and which, as we are told by Pliny, paid a tribute of a talent per day (\$1500) to the Carthaginians.

This city was built on a fertile plain, rising gradually towards the mountains of Mesurata, from which an elegant and extensive view is had of the sea and the surrounding country ; the soil and climate were represented as fruitful and salubrious, and the ruins are more extensive than in any other city yet discovered in Africa. These consist of a temple, several triumphal arches, an aqueduct, together with broken statues, columns, friezes, pediments, and some fine granite pillars. Mr. Earle, now in New-York, who drew and engraved the sketches in this work, made an elegant drawing of Lepida on the spot, which he has now in his possession, and from which it is evident that it was an important and splendid place.

The city of Tripoli is built on an isthmus, surrounded by a wall, and defended by a strong semi-circular battery of twenty pieces of cannon, from which a mole extends bearing twelve pieces, and connected with another battery of eight guns—there is also a small fort on the beach of eight guns more. The ramparts around the castle are filled with heavy brass field pieces, and altogether, the works of defence are very extensive and formidable, if kept in good repair. The harbour is spacious and considered safe for vessels not drawing more than eighteen feet water.

The town does not differ from Tunis ; narrow streets, small white-washed houses with terraces, a few caravanseras and Mosques, renders it similar to all Moslem cities, with this exception only, that Tripoli is celebrated for its cleanliness and uncommon tranquillity.

The castle of the Pacha, which is an irregular shapeless mass, has, nevertheless, some elegant apartments. There are several antiquities in and about the city, but the most important specimens is a triumphal arch, in tolerable preservation, but buried considerably in the earth, and ornamented with some *basso relievos* ; it was erected by Scipio Cefritus, the Consul, during the reign of Antonius Pius.

Tripoli does not contain more than 30,000 inhabitants, whose pursuits are the same as in Tunis, together with about 2000 Jews, who enjoy rather more influence than in other parts of Barbary, and I doubt whether the whole population of this extensive kingdom amounts to a million. The inhabitants are Arabs, Moors, Negroes, and Turks, together with many Jews. The negroes and renegadoes,

appear to be greatly in favour with the Pacha, and are the most useful to the government.

The soil of Tripoli is, if possible, yet more fruitful than that of Tunis, and the climate has no superior in the world, and excepting the ophthalmia, diseases are unknown. Commerce is regulated much in the same manner as in the other States of Barbary, but caravans are more frequently seen penetrating into the interior from Tripoli, than from the other Regencies.

The *Hadgis*, or pilgrims for Mecca, from all parts of Africa west of Tripoli, pass through that kingdom on their way, and as they contrive to blend piety with profit, they carry on a lucrative trade with the Asiatic provinces, in the neighbourhood of the holy city. They carry with them English and French goods, gold thread, jewelry, damask, &c. which they exchange for India goods, drugs, and Mocha coffee, and by this traffic, they not only contrive to pay the expenses of their religious journey, but frequently make a handsome profit.

The caravans for Fezzan and Tombuctoo, leave Tripoli twice a year. The distance to Fezzan, the *Phazanium* of antiquity, cannot be more than thirty days march, and from thence to Tombuctoo, about seventy days. This would make Fezzan about 600 miles from Tripoli, and Tombuctoo about 1300. Travellers, who are disposed to penetrate the interior, should go with the caravans from Tripoli. These generally bring negroes, gold dust in great quantities, ivory, ostrich feathers, drugs, camels, and antelopes, which are exchanged for silks, arms and ammunition, toys and looking glasses.

The government of Tripoli is administered in the same arbitrary manner, as in other parts of Barbary. Jusef Pacha, who, since our war, has reigned tranquilly, may be considered as a man of shrewdness and sagacity, not unmixed with some liberal traits; he is not as rapacious as his colleagues, and is a frank, sociable man, and the only one in Barbary, who enjoys, from the Grand Siegneur, the title of Pacha of three tails.

The variety of antiquities with which Tripoli abounds, can be safely examined, and freely taken away. When told by the British Consul, that the superb triumphal arch of Antonius Pius, was

buried in sand, and hid by the hovels surrounding it, he ordered the earth to be cleared away, and had some of the houses knocked down, that a better view of it may be obtained, he even offered to permit the Consul to carry it away.

The eldest son of the Pacha has the title of Bey, and is commander in chief of the land forces ; he is frequently in arms against the authority of his father, and they mutually regard each other with great jealousy and suspicion.

Jusef has three wives, two black, and one white, and he has several children. Domestic troubles, together with the claim of his brother, Hamet Caramalli, induces the Pacha to take every precaution in preventing revolutions.

The chief admiral, called Murat Rais, is a renegado, originally named Peter Lysle, born in Scotland, and was a mate of a vessel in 1794, when he became an apostate. This man, who now is of little note, was one of our most inveterate enemies, and to an original hatred towards the Americans, he added all the bigotry of his new faith ; he was an active instrument in procuring the declaration of war against us, and we kept a very sharp look out for him, but he was too cunning to fall in our hands.

The Prime Minister, during our contest, was Sidi Mahomet Deguiz, a man of very superior talents, and humane character ; he is now nearly blind, and has retired from public life. I crossed the Mediterranean, on my return, with his son Hassuna, a young man scarcely 21 years of age, of a most amiable disposition, and possessing very handsome talents. Hassuna appeared to me a singular exception to the generality of Turkish characters ; he was full of correct and noble sentiments, and spoke French and Italian fluently.

Tripoli has treaties with most of the European powers, some of which are tributary. For a length of time, we have had an Italian as Charge des Affaires, a most discreditable character, and who was considered as a spy of the Pacha's on the other Consuls ; fortunately, the appointment of Richard B. Jones, rescued the country from a degraded representative. Mr. Jones is a very capable, correct, and spirited officer.

The naval force of Tripoli consists of a few vessels, poorly equipped and armed, and not calculated to do any essential injury to the Christian powers, and the entire revenue of the Pacha does not exceed \$100,000 annually.

On the termination of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, it was expected that no time would be lost in making preparations to chastise the arrogance, and punish the depredations of the Algerines. Released from a contest with a powerful nation, in which we had acquired a lasting character, and with ample means at our disposal, it was readily imagined, that in destroying a tributary treaty, we would go as far as we possibly could, consistent with our own safety and interest, in redressing the wrongs of Christendom. There was something elevating and honourable in the idea, that the United States, in the fortieth year of her Independence, would set an example to the world, would do that, which European powers have been attempting in vain to do, centuries past; to end the piracies of these barbarians, and break the chains of Christian captives; to earn for our country an unfading wreath of laurel, by becoming the champions of humanity. The feelings of our citizens were in unison with these sentiments; we had terminated the war with Britain honourably and gloriously for our country, now let us redress our wrongs, said they, and the wrongs which liberty has sustained in the Mediterranean; let our flag be proudly and triumphantly displayed on the shores of Numidia, and near the mouldering ruins of the great republic of antiquity.

After the termination of our war with Tripoli, Col. Lear took up his residence at Algiers. He was much and deservedly esteemed for the amenity of his manners, and his strictly respectable character; but the Dey admired him for qualifications, which he never should have possessed—for his uniform pacific disposition, and his amiable accordance to all his demands.

Our tributes and presents continued to be faithfully and splendidly administered. The annual accounts laid before Congress, produced the most animated, and spirited objections, mixed with deep regret, that a policy more vigorous was not adopted. The Dey never relinquished a demand, in consequence of a remonstrance from the Consul; when a vessel arrived with the tribute, he found

fault with every thing, and was only pacified by additional tributes. One of his cruisers, during profound peace, and with an American passport, captured one of our merchant vessels, and ordered her to Algiers ; the American crew, with a spirit becoming their national character, horror struck at the idea of slavery, and indignant at the piratical course pursued by the Algerines, rose upon them, and threw the crew, consisting of nine Turks, into the sea, and pursued their course. On the receipt of this intelligence, the Dey sent for Col. Lear, and in a furious rage, demanded the payment of \$2000 a piece for these Turks, on the failure of which, he threatened to imprison the Consul. When an officer accepts a Consulate in Barbary, he should be prepared to meet any result, arising from a faithful performance of his duty ; if he loses his head, he becomes a martyr to the honour and integrity of his country, and is entitled to the same fame, as he who dies on the field of battle.— This demand should have been resisted. The Consul should have told the Dey, that his cruiser, sailing under a passport, and during profound peace, had, without orders, captured an American vessel, that the crew, faithful to their own liberty, had released themselves from their captors, and that instead of paying for their lives, a remuneration should be paid to the American owner, for his detention and loss, and that the captain of the cruiser should be punished for violating the treaty. Any person familiar with the customs and habits of these people, will concur with me in saying, that the Dey would have replied to a remonstrance so just and necessary— Well, Consul, say no more about it. Instead of pursuing this course, Col. Lear, after some inefficient objections, borrowed \$18,000 at a heavy premium, of the Jewish house of Bacri, and paid it to the Dey. I select this occurrence from many others, to show, that from this pliant and tributary disposition, the Dey of Algiers made erroneous calculations upon our disposition to comply with all his demands, and then, in a fit of avarice, declared war against us, under the persuasion, that we would give him a million of dollars to restore the pacific relations.

Algiers, the most considerable and important district in Barbary, was that part of *Mauritania Tingitania*, called *Cæsariensis* by the Romans. It is situated between Tunis and Morocco, in thirty and thirty-seven degrees north latitude, and between one degree west, and nine degrees east longitude, and extends, from east to west, up-

wards of six hundred miles, being a fertile and mountainous country, and possessing several important sea ports.

The ancient history of this kingdom is full of interest, and the antiquities it now contains, are objects of great curiosity and research.

The western boundary of this kingdom extends to the river *Mulloo-iah*, the *Malva* of the ancients, beyond which the kingdom of Morocco commences, which is in a direct line across the Mediterranean, with Cape De Gatt, in Spain. This river is broad and deep, and takes its rise in the deserts of *Sahara*, it has, however, been seldom explored beyond the boundaries of the kingdom.

Near the mouth of this river, and at a distance of eight miles, are three small islands, the *Tres Insule* of the ancients, formerly used as sheltering places for the fishing barks, and now the small rovers and piratical boats make a harbour there, ready to attack any vessel in sight.

Leaving these islands, and progressing on the sea coast for forty miles, we make the mountainous Cape Hone, the great *Promontory of Ptolemy*, and from this cape, the large cruisers of the Regency, stretch to and from the coast of Spain.

The river *Tafna*, a broad and rapid stream, the *Siga* of Pliny, empties itself in the sea, about twenty miles from this cape. On the banks of this river, Syphax erected a city of the same name, in which he dwelt, and the ruins are still to be seen at a place called *Tacumbreet*.

From this river, until we reach *Oran*, there are a variety of deep and spacious bays, which were considered of great importance by the ancients.

Oran is one of the strongest places in the kingdom, and capable of being rendered of more importance than *Algiers*, but it has been neglected. It is defended by a wall, and two or three castles, now going to decay, but commanding an entire sweep and control of the bay. This town was one of the few conquests of Spain in Barbary, and they built some handsome churches and houses when it was in their possession.

From Oran, several bays and promontories are seen for many miles, in which there are small villages and towns, some of them good harbours, and which, in ancient times, were of considerable importance. There is scarcely one of these villages in which some specimen of antiquity is not to be found, some broken colonnade, or mouldering shaft, to attest its ancient character.

The most important place to the westward of Algiers, is the site of the celebrated city of *Julia Cæsaria*, a city which recalls to the memory the names of Juba, Jugurtha, and Massanissa, and one of the most rich and powerful in the *Cæsariensis*. It is situated at a place called Shershell, between *Tennis* and *Tefessad*. It is now a small manufacturing town, surrounded by ruins, which consists of aqueducts, the pillars of temples, mosaic pavements, and many curious fragments.

The town of *Shershell* is walled, and it is situated near ravines and defiles, which confirms the tradition of *Procopius*, that *Julia Cæsaria* was inaccessible by land. The port is extremely broad and safe, somewhat choked up at present by the sand, and visited only by small vessels. Whatever difference of opinion may have existed, as to the site of this celebrated city, it is evident, from the extensive ruins near Shershell, the spacious port, and the remains of its Cothon, together with the fertility of the surrounding country, and its copious streams of water, that it could not have been at any other spot, as nothing for many miles answer the description of *Julia Cæsaria* but this.

Between this place and Algiers, the coast is rocky and mountainous. On one of these mountains, is still to be seen, a building of free-stone, of the best quality, something in the shape of a Pyramid, and built with great strength; it is supposed to be the sepulchre of some of the Numidian kings. These mountains continue high and curiously shaped, fertile, and covered with verdure, and in a deep and elegant bay, well protected, and with a copious draught of water, is the city of Algiers, the *Jomnium*, *Jocosium*, and *Mesquana* of antiquity, and of the Numidians, and the *Al-Jezeire*, or warlike city of the Mussulmen. This place, long the terror of the Christian states, and celebrated for horrid acts of cruelty and vengeance, where liberty is unknown, and virtue unregarded, has maintained for centuries a ferocious character in his-

tory. It was, in the time of the Carthagenians and Romans, a very powerful city, and by its subsequent masters, its works of defence have been so increased and improved, that it may be considered the strongest place in the Mediterranean. The Moors held it for some time, without disturbing the commerce of the Christians, and the acts of piracy which they commenced, were attributable to the weak and vicious policy of the Spaniards, who, not content with having despoiled them of their fertile possessions in Spain, assailed them in their retreat in Africa, and took possession of several of their sea ports. This unmerited severity, and strange persecution, gave rise to the piracies of Horuc and Hyraddin Barbarossa, long the terror of Christians, and who were men of consummate bravery. Their success soon increased and strengthened their power, until they succeeded in driving the Spaniards from all their possessions in Africa, and establishing their dynasty as sovereigns of Algiers.

The Ottoman Porte saw the increase and capacity of this Moslem kingdom, and used every exertion to get it under their control, in which they succeeded; and they encouraged a band of desperate marine adventurers, who scoured the Mediterranean, and under the command of Dragut, a captain of great courage and talents, made war upon the Knights of Malta, and the republics and kingdoms of Italy, France, and Spain, and, in 1550, established the supremacy of the Sultan in the Barbary States, whose chiefs paid a tribute, and submitted to his decision in all cases of disputes.—From that period, until the present day, the history of Barbary is a record of piracy, slavery, and assassination; and the Christian powers, warring with each other for territorial limits, for new principles of commercial policy, for the ascendancy on the ocean, and for trivial ambitious projects, have been, for upwards of two centuries, insensible to the cries of the chained captive, and the galley slave—have turned but a partial ear to the groans of their brethren, insulted, despised, and scourged by relentless bigots; and while the plains of Europe have been drenched in blood, for causes which never benefitted liberty or humanity, a small portion of Africa, within reach of the avenging arm, scorned, defied, and trampled upon Europe.

The city of Algiers contains upwards of 100,000 inhabitants, and its fortifications have been for ages celebrated for their strength and capacity. The streets, Mosques, and houses, do not differ, in any

respect, from other cities in Barbary ; white-washed walls, low roofs and terraces, narrow and obscure passages, without order, convenience, and comfort, unite to make Algiers less agreeable for a residence than any place on the coast.

The Dey has a palace in the city, the interior of which is handsomely ornamented ; there are several Mosques, public baths, and Bazars.

The environs of Algiers are amazingly fertile and beautiful, and contain the gardens and country seats of the Consuls, and rich Moors, and are filled with vineyards.

A chain of mountains rise about three leagues from the city, and form an amphitheatre, picturesque and beautiful.

The government of Algiers, differs materially from those in the other States of Barbary, and may be considered a military despotism, of which the Dey is the chief. This person is elected, or chosen by the Turkish Janizaries from among the distinguished persons in their own ranks, and always amidst revolution and carnage ; and when they are tired of him, and find him unsuited to their ferocious despotism, tame or violent, they assemble tumultuously, cut off his head, and elect another. Nothing is more common than these revolutions, and nothing is more certain than that the newly elected chief will end his reign at an early age, by the sword or the sabre ; they bend, however, to the will of the sovereign, and consider it an honour to die in full submission to his fate, trust to destiny, but that religious submission to fortune and predestination, enables them to submit cheerfully to the result.

When the revolution took place in Tunis, which ended with the death of the Sapatapa, several persons were imprisoned upon suspicion of having an agency in it, among the rest was Mely, the former minister to the United States ; as several were strangled in prison, report included the poor ex-ambassador, and I thought it a cruel end for one who had travelled much, and lived in milder governments. Passing some time after through a dark and narrow street, the fat figure of Mely burst upon me. I was about to address him in the words of Macbeth, "avaunt and quit my sight, thy bones are marrowless," when waddling up to me, and squeezing my hand in the most cordial manner, my

dear friend, said he, I am rejoiced to see you. I did not doubt it, and inquired of him how he had escaped. Why, said he, it was not my fate; I saw two men strangled, who were in the same prison with me, I was terribly alarmed, and thought my turn came next, but it was not to be; allah be praised. I learnt subsequently, that under the pretext of being concerned in the conspiracy, the Bey compelled him to pay thirty thousand piasters; and such was his dread of these expensive suspicions, that when our fleet lay at Tunis, he left the city without visiting our officers, who were well known to him, for fear of a dangerous result.

On the choice of a new Dey of Algiers, the ceremony of induction is very simple—no oath of allegiance, no pledge to support the laws, no assurance of devotion to the interest of the people, a robe of damask, or a caftan trimmed with fur, is the symbol of power; the officers kiss hands in token of submission, and salvos of artillery announce the election. The Dey enters upon the duties of his new office, by cutting off the heads of the former ministers, or banishing them, and appointing new ones, as may suit his whim or caprice, revenging himself upon former enemies, or maltreating such Consuls to whom he owed a grudge, when in “the dull pursuits of civil life.” The throne is founded on blood, and maintained by the scimitar. He declares war or decides on peace, as his interest may dictate, he may reign long, if he is active, vigilant and successful, for that is the main point. An unfortunate sovereign is soon despatched; the loss of a battle, the capture of a frigate, or an inglorious peace, that is, a peace without receiving tribute, are the signals for revolution and bloodshed, and innumerable are the instances of several being chosen and murdered in one day, from sunrise until sunset.

Although Christian slavery prevails in all the Regencies of Barbary, except Morocco, which cannot well be called a Regency, Algiers may be considered as the great depot, the sink of iniquity and curse of humanity. The European powers have much to answer for, in permitting their citizens to be thus enslaved, by a small piratical band. Posterity, when the horrors of Algerine captivity shall be made known to them, will pause in astonishment, and review the armies of Europe, covering its plains like locust—they will look with surprise at the vast military body engaged at Austerlitz, Moscow, Leipzig, and the heights at Paris, for increase

of territory, or another king; and they will cast their eyes across the Mediterranean, a few days sail from Europe, and see their Christian brethren, loaded with chains, and scourged with whips, bending under the galling yoke of ignominious slavery, and lifting up their voice in vain for assistance; they will hear of virtue, talents, youth and beauty, sacrificed by a bloody and unprincipled race, and they will be at a loss to account for their infatuation, for their want of sympathy, and the common offices of Christian charity and humanity. We have heard the crusade of Peter the Hermit ridiculed—the philosopher smiles at the zeal of Godfrey of Boullion, Saint Louis of France, and *Richard Cour de Lion*; true, the times did not require such efforts, and the Christian religion was not intended to be supported, like the Moslem faith, by the sword and shield. But if a crusade was, at this enlightened period, determined upon against the Barbary States, if men should range themselves under the banners of the cross, and should march from Atlas to the Gulf of Sidra, in the cause of liberty and humanity, of science and the arts, of commerce and industry, I should feel and say, that such a crusade *was* a holy one, and would be prepared to join it myself.

I can imagine nothing more terrific to the peaceful mariner, or to the enterprising merchant, than when an Algerine rover bears down upon their unarmed vessel, boards with sword in hand and shrieking imprecations, their sunburnt and black complexions, rendered savage by their eyes of fire, and quivering lip of indignation, seizing on the timid crew, dragging from their retreat the trembling and distracted females, tearing their jewels and ornaments from them, and throwing them all, neck and heels, like dogs, in their boat, to be transported to their corsair, where, half starved, spit upon, and insulted, they are confined, until they arrive under the frowning battlements of that city, intended for the grave of their liberty.

When a vessel arrives at Algiers with slaves, they are marched before the Bey, and each person is examined, touching their country; sometimes the Consuls examine a number, to ascertain whether they have *national* claims for their protection. Half naked, for they are stripped of valuable clothing before they land, they have a coarse robe of hair cloth thrown to them. Here stands an aged man, with silvery locks, tears coursing down his furrowed cheeks, who, in his little pleasure vessel, was sailing from Genoa

to Nice ; thus snatched from children, home and country, bare headed, and with bare feet, is waiting to hear his fate ; he is ordered to work in the Dey's garden. There, in rags, but with a countenance beaming with intelligence, and shaded with a manly frown of indignation, stands a Count of the holy Roman Empire, once secretary to the Consistory, and the intimate friend of the sovereign Pontiff. Where is that power which once made monarchs tremble ? Where are those Bulls which, like the law of the Medes and Persians, were all controlling and effective ? Gone—not even possessing sufficient influence to break the chains of a captive nobleman. He is ordered to work on the fortifications, being hale and strong, and the whip of his task-master soon awakens him from his painful reverie. That female, who is wringing her hands in agony, in tattered garments, is the wife of a rich merchant in Naples, and her two beautiful daughters, in tears and in despair, near her, vainly attempting to administer comfort, have just left their seminaries of learning in France ; accomplished and engaging, they were about to return to their native city, of which they contemplated being the pride and ornament. The mother is ordered to the harem, to be employed in the lowest drudgery for its licentious tenants ; the daughters are separated, sent to the houses of favourite ministers, to be daily tortured with impure solicitations, probably assaulted with violence, and ever solicited to abandon their faith. The seamen are chained, fed on black bread, and compelled to work bare headed in the scorching sun, on roads, houses, or ramparts. Ye monarchs of Europe, who on beds of down and in robes of velvet, fare sumptuously—who can order your armies to take the field and fight against your neighbours, for “ something or for nothing ”—how could you be insensible to the groans of your subjects ? You should have pawned the jewels in your crowns to release your suffering people, if your power could not break their chains. Here would have been a contest which would have immortalized your efforts—for this alone could any alliance be termed *holy*.

The slaves in Algiers, after labouring from sunrise to sunset, are locked up in prison, huddled together like cattle, sleeping on the bare earth, and breathing a confined and poisoned atmosphere, it may be readily conceived, that few live long to suffer ; and with the oppression, cruelty, labour, neglect, sickness, and starvation,

many annually fall victims to this barbarous policy—many die in miserable despair.

In Tunis, from my observation, the slaves, which do not amount to more than 600, are not severely treated. Many are employed as servants in private houses, and many, richly dressed, have various duties assigned to them in the palace. There are a number who work in the quarries and the fortifications, but they are not chained, nor flogged, without they commit some crime. Over the slaves in Tunis, they have a Neapolitan renegado, extremely rich and villainous, called the *Guardian Bashaw*. This man is answerable for the safety of the slaves, and his revenue is derived from a fee received for each, when they are ransomed, and he robs them of their little gains and presents. The slaves in Tunis are mostly Neapolitans, and a few Romans; they are very useful in the palace, and many of them have made money.

The next town in population and consequence to Algiers, is Constantine, situated in the interior, about one hundred and sixty miles from the Mediterranean. This was the *Cirta* of the ancients, or the *Cirta Sittionorum* of Pliny, and was one of the most important and splendid cities of Numidia, the ruins of which, in ample quantities, are still to be seen, particularly a row of cisterns, not inferior to those of Carthage in size or beauty, together with altars, columns, caps, bases, fountains, and arches, with many curious inscriptions. Constantine was once under the dominion of Tunis, but it was wrested from them in 1600 by the Algerines, who sell the office of Bey to whoever can pay the price. The town is built on an eminence, capable of being very strongly fortified, and surrounded by a rich and flourishing country; it contains about 60,000 inhabitants, consisting of Moors, Turks, and Jews; of the latter there are 5000, who carry on a profitable commerce, and export wheat, barley, wool, camel's hair, ostrich feathers, beeswax, hides, sheep, bullocks, horses, mules, tallow, poultry, and ship timber. The exports, in the flourishing times of this province, were not less than a million of dollars annually. Many Christians reside at Constantine, where living is safe and extremely cheap, and the people are more refined than those on the sea coast.

The next town in importance is the sea port of Bona, the nearest sea port to the kingdom of Tunis, and not a mile from this place

are the ruins of the ancient *Hippona*, or *Hippo Regus*, a warlike city of the Numidians. Bona was a port of considerable trade, when the French African Company possessed La Cala and Tabarca, and exported great quantities of wool, wax, hides and wheat; it now carries on some commerce, and may contain twenty thousand inhabitants; it is a walled town, poorly defended, with a good harbour, capable of being improved.

Oran, to the westward of Algiers, is the next port of consequence, and could also be greatly improved.

Boujeiah or Bugia, to the eastward of Algiers, formerly called Sallæ, celebrated for its cruisers, is a very spacious port, now going to decay. The town was built on the site of the ancient *Salde*, and carries on some traffic in iron manufactures, the ore for which is found in the neighbouring mountains. Though there are several sea ports in the kingdom of Algiers, yet the city of that name is the only formidable obstacle to securing the freedom of the Mediterranean sea. It is here that the navy of Algiers was built and fitted, and under the guns and behind a powerful mole, it rode securely.

An arrival from Gibraltar at Tunis, brought me American papers containing the account of rejoicings for the Treaty of Ghent, and preparations for the Algerine war. The same arrival conveyed a piece of information, which filled me with surprise and regret, and laid the foundation for the most unpleasant and perplexing difficulties, and for the first time it developed a policy or practice in our government, of which I had not the most distant suspicion; a practice which, if established as a general rule, will leave us without foreign credit.

The British Consul wrote me a polite note informing me, that he had received from Gibraltar, my drafts drawn upon the American government, for \$18,743, which had been returned *protested*, and which, with losses and damages, amounted to \$21,613, and requested to know when it would be agreeable for me to pay that sum. This was a most painful event. The full and unequivocal authority, conveyed to me in the letter of Mr. Secretary Monroe, under date of the 5th of April, 1813, as will be seen in page 70—the close adherence to orders, as manifested by the subsequent transactions,

forbade the idea that the government had conceived that I had gone beyond those orders, or assumed a power not specifically delegated. I could then only attribute the dishonour of those bills, to a supposed pressure of the times, which, even allowing I could find no excuse for the injury done the public credit in the Mediterranean, at the very moment when we were about sending a squadron there, and which would require heavy sums for its support. Whatever may have been the cause, it was too late to remedy the evil. I had no alternative but to return to the United States; no Consul can remain in Barbary after his bills are known to be protested by his government; that fact once ascertained, he may starve for want of assistance, and must be subjected to the insults and ill treatment of the barbarians. This fact, experience had familiarized to the administration, and I conceived it intended as an intimation to resign my office, if I could free myself from arrest. I lost no time in calling upon Mr. Oglander, the British Consul, and explaining the transaction. He exhibited to me his powers to seize on my person and property for the payment of these bills, and his orders from their owner were positive and unyielding. I was at his mercy, but that truly respectable and worthy man, rejecting national prejudices, preserved the credit of the United States, by keeping the affair a profound secret, and taking no steps to abridge my liberty, or disgrace us in the estimation of the Tunisian court; waiting, as he offered to do, for the arrival of the American squadron, and feeling confident that its commander would have the necessary powers to pay those bills. I made preparation to leave Tunis; it is sufficient sacrifice for a citizen to serve his country in this inhospitable part of the world, without sustaining a loss of credit.

The war between the United States and Algiers occupied general attention; every arrival at Tunis brought us some intelligence.— Sicilian, Neapolitan, and Genoese vessels, began to leave their ports, trusting to the generous protection of the American navy, and feeling confident that it was sufficiently powerful to keep the piratical cruisers in port, and thus enable them to derive some commercial advantages from our operations.

Immediately on the conclusion of peace with England, our commerce in the Mediterranean, which has always been valuable, required immediate protection. War had been formally declared by Congress, and a squadron was ordered to be in readiness. This

consisted of the *Guerrier*, *Constellation*, and *Macedonian* frigates, the *Ontario* and *Epervier* sloops of war, and the schooners *Torch*, *Flambeau*, *Spark*, and *Spitfire*. This small force, intended more for the protection of commerce than for any attack on Algiers, was placed under the command of Commodore Decatur, and it was contemplated to be strengthened by Commodore Bainbridge in a line of battle ship, and some additional frigates and sloops, and he was to take the chief command. On board the squadron was Mr. Shaler, appointed Commissioner with Commodore Decatur, to negotiate a treaty, and also as Consul-General for the Barbary States. This gentleman has been long known to the government, and has been confidentially employed on several occasions; his talents, and a peculiar firmness of character, qualifies him for this station.

The squadron arrived at Gibraltar in twenty-five days, having first communicated with Cadiz, and run into Tangier Bay for information. It was discovered, on their arrival at Gibraltar, that the Algerine fleet was out, and Commodore Decatur, after having gone in pursuit of them, resolved to embrace the opportunity of addressing himself to the fears of the Dey, for the safety of his fleet, by appearing before Algiers. He left Gibraltar, and near Cape de Gatt, he fell in with an Algerine frigate. She was then under English colours, and our squadron carried the same flag. Not suspecting the approach of an enemy, the Algerine continued under easy sail, but the interchange of signals and suspicious movements of our squadron, alarmed her, and setting all sail, she bore away with the utmost expedition. She was a beautiful frigate, originally a Portuguese, and sailed uncommonly fast; our squadron pursued her, the *Constellation*, Captain Gordon, being the headmost ship, first fired into her, the *Guerrier*, one of our best and swiftest vessels, came up and brought her to close action; the Algerine had maintained a running fight for twenty-five minutes, principally with musketry, as her large guns were awkwardly managed, and after a few broadsides, she struck, with the loss of thirty killed and many wounded, among the former, was the Admiral, Rais Hamida, who was cut in two by a round shot. She was boarded and taken possession of—the prisoners, amounting to four hundred, were exceedingly alarmed at their fate, calculating to meet with the same treatment as they are accustomed to afford their captives. She had several

officers, who are called captains of different ranks. After the battle, in which they had exhibited their usual bravery, they were quietly seated on the cabin floor, smoking their long pipes with their accustomed gravity. The frigate was much cut up, but the Guerrier was scarcely injured, and had but four men wounded by musketry. Hamida, who was killed in this action, had long been celebrated in the Mediterranean, and was a terror to the Christian States. He was by birth an Arab, but visiting Algiers when young, he made a voyage on board a cruiser, with which he was so well pleased, as to make the sea his favourite pursuit. Exhibiting talents of no common order, in addition to bravery and enterprise, he soon obtained the command of a frigate, with which he boarded and captured a Portuguese frigate of superior force, and that gave him a claim to the title and command of an Admiral, and for several years he maintained an unlimited control in the Mediterranean. Prior to his leaving Algiers, though on all other occasions he was attached to the sea, he expressed some apprehensions about the American squadron; he had heard of its operations during the war with England, and considered it prudent not to venture out; his objections were overruled, and some insinuations touching his bravery, induced him to declare, that he would go out, but that he would return victorious or perish.

The squadron pursued its course, and under Cape Palos, they fell in with an Algerine brig of twenty-two guns, which was run on shore by the Rais, and there captured by the light vessels, with the loss of twenty-three men, and sent into Carthage. The squadron then proceeded to Algiers, and on the 28th of June, entered the bay. The sight of the American vessels had a sudden effect on the Dey, who did not apprehend an attack on the town, for which he was not prepared, but whose alarm was excited for the safety of his fleet, all of which was out, and could find no secure harbour but Algiers, which now was effectually blockaded. Calculating then, the value of his vessels, and the prizes they may capture from the Dutch, Neapolitan and Hamburg flags, and contrasting the annual tribute paid by the United States, he considered it his interest to prevent the commencement of hostilities, and make a peace with the Americans on their own terms, reserving to himself the usual privilege of breaking this treaty at his perfect convenience. He lost no time, therefore, to entreat the mediation

of Mr. Norderling, the Swedish Consul-General, who repaired on board the American squadron, with the captain of the port, to learn the terms on which a treaty might be concluded. These were short and comprehensive. "*An entire relinquishment of tribute.*" "*All American captives to be delivered without ransom, and those made in subsequent wars to be treated like prisoners, and not kept in slavery.*" "*Compensation made for property captured during the war.*"—" *Americans, or their property, found on board an enemy's vessel, are not to be molested,*" and other provisions of minor character, such as would put the United States on a footing with the most favoured nation, and provide, as far as a treaty could guarantee, for the honour and integrity of our flag. These terms were indicated to the Dey, through Mr. Norderling, accompanied with the unpleasant, though influential account of the capture of the frigate and brig, and the death of Hamida. This confirmed his original determination, yet, in conformity to custom, he demurred and objected to the articles, and proposed that the Commodore should land, and negotiate the treaty on shore, which was promptly rejected. He then required a truce to consider the terms, which was refused; he begged for three hours, the reply was, "*not a minute*; if your squadron appears in sight before the treaty is signed and the prisoners sent off, it shall be captured." The boat returned to the shore, at a distance of five miles, meanwhile a corvette hove in sight, and a disposition was made to cut her off, this hastened the decision of the Dey, he signed the treaty, securing every thing honourable to us, and sent it with the prisoners on board the squadron. Thus was a peace made with the Dey of Algiers at the mouth of the cannon, in *forty days* after the squadron left the United States, in which time they had crossed the Atlantic and had two naval engagements, and in the 40th year of the Independence of said United States, an event, which for facility, energy, and promptness, has no parallel in the annals of history. There was a circumstance, however, in this negotiation, which by many was considered inauspicious. The Dey, in his negotiations, required that the captured frigate and brig should be restored to him. The commissioners refused to insert an article to this effect in the treaty, but consented to restore the two vessels, merely as a compliment to the Dey, and a favour rendered him by the United States. Commodore Decatur and Mr. Shaler, in explaining this measure, represent, that "considering the state of those vessels,

the sums that would be required to fit them for a passage to the United States, and the little probability of selling them in this part of the world," they deemed it expedient to present them to the Dey, provided he would sign the treaty, and to reconcile the Algerine people to the measure. These reasons are by no means conclusive. An instance, I believe, cannot be cited, where a vessel of war, captured from an enemy, was ever restored; it is kept as an evidence of success and triumph, an incentive to acts of equal valour, and as a tangible testimony of the skill and enterprise of nations. If, however, an instance can be found, it should not be imitated. As a young nation, we must be extremely cautious in establishing new and extraordinary principles, for "what is precedent to-day, may be doctrine to-morrow;" besides, the right of transferring a captured vessel to an enemy, without the consent of the government, may, with great propriety, be questioned. If, then, such a measure is deemed impolitic, in relation to a civilized power, how much more so should it be considered, when the captured vessels are to be restored to pirates, when we disarm the assassins, and return them their daggers, when we defend ourselves from their aggressions, yet give them the means of depredating upon other powers, less capable than we are to defend themselves. The commissioners, doubtless, with the best motives, thought that the act would be considered as indicative of a magnanimous and generous disposition, and estimated accordingly. Presuming that their right of adopting this course was unquestionable, a perfect knowledge of the genius and disposition of the Algerines, should have satisfied them, that an act of liberality thus demonstrated, would ever be construed into motives of fear, and the subsequent measures of the Dey confirmed this opinion; he broke the treaty several times respecting the brig, and compelled us to visit him with the squadron, to threaten and prepare for active war. The measure was considered an extraordinary one in the Mediterranean, and was particularly regretted by the Christian powers of limited means, fearful that it would swell the pride, and increase the demands of these pirates. It may be very justly said, that a nation can only provide for its own defence, and not fight the battles of the world; but every step which can benefit a civilized power in a war with the Turks, should be adopted, if it can be done with safety, and it is a species of warfare in which one nation is authorized to consider how its measures will affect another.

The squadron left Algiers for Cagliari, in order to take in water, and the rapidity of its movements was such, that the declaration of war, departure of the squadron, arrival before Algiers, and conclusion of a treaty, followed each other in such quick succession, that no intelligence of its operations reached me at Tunis.

The Bey gave orders to fit out his fleet, consisting of three frigates and three brigs and schooners, with some gun-boats. The object of the expedition, I had reason to believe, was to cruise against Danish, Dutch and Hamburg vessels, and such new flags as the late peace in Europe had introduced on the high seas, together with the Sicilians, and Neapolitans, the regular and confirmed enemy. It is customary for each vessel to have a passport from the Consuls with whom they are at peace, together with a Mediterranean pass. These were collected by a lame Turk, whom we generally termed secretary to the board of admiralty; always suspicious that some foul play was intended him, he made it a practice to come into my chancery, where, seating himself on the ground, he would spread around him the various passports, which he entreated me to examine and endorse, and ascertain whether every thing was right. When this squadron was ready for sea, I determined to prevent its going out if I could, satisfied that some European power would be benefitted from the step. I went to the palace, and designedly visited Soliman Kya, the first minister.—Hitherto I had been accustomed to transact business with the Minister of Marine, and it was the first time I had ever conversed with Soliman Kya. I represented to him the state of our relations, and advised him to prevent the squadron putting to sea, until they were settled. That our squadron being out, and having learnt that these differences had existed, would possibly detain some of these vessels, probably attack them, and then these difficulties would assume a very unpleasant form. He regretted the differences, but hoped that they would be amicably settled, and would endeavour to prevent the fleet going out.

On the 30th of July, about noon, we observed signals for a fleet from the tower on Cape Carthage, and shortly after, the American squadron, under full sail, came into the bay and anchored. Nothing can be more welcome to a Consul in Barbary, than the sight of a fleet, bearing the flag of his nation; he feels, that surrounded by assassins and mercenaries, he is still safe and protected, and an in-

voluntary tribute of admiration is paid by Mussulmen to that nation, which has the power and the disposition to command respect. The flags of all the Consulates were hoisted, and I lost no time to ride to the Goletta, for the purpose of communicating with the squadron. On my way, a Mameluke on horseback presented me a letter from Commodore Decatur, announcing peace with Algiers, and desired to know the nature of our differences with Tunis. I had already prepared the documents, and arranged the plan of procedure, which I intended to suggest to the Commodore. On my arrival at the Goletta, the Minister of Marine ordered the Bey's barge of twelve oars to be prepared for me, and arranged the silk cushions in the stern, and, accompanied by Abdallah, the drogaman, I left the canal.

The squadron lay off Cape Carthage, arranged in handsome order, the *Guerriere*, bearing the broad penant of the Commodore, was in the centre, and the whole exhibiting a very agreeable and commanding sight. In less than an hour, I was along side of the flag ship, and ascended on the quarter deck. The marines were under arms, and received the Consul of the United States with the usual honours. Commodore Decatur and Capt. Downs, both in uniform, were at the gangway, and most of the officers and crew pressed forward to view their fellow-citizen. After the customary salutations, and a few inquiries, Commodore Decatur invited me into the cabin, where, after being seated, he went to his escrutoire, and from among a package of letters he handed me one, saying that it was a despatch from the Secretary of State, and requested me to use no ceremony, but to read it. It had the seal of the United States, which I broke, and, to my great surprise, read as follows :—

“ *Department of State, April 25, 1815.*

“ *Sir,*

“ *At the time of your appointment, as Consul at Tunis, it was not known that the RELIGION which you profess would form any obstacle to the exercise of your Consular functions. Recent information, however, on which entire reliance may be placed, proves that it would produce a very unfavourable effect. IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH, the President has deemed it expedient to revoke your commission. On the receipt of this letter, therefore, you will consider yourself no longer*

in the public service. There are some circumstances, too, connected with your accounts, which require a more particular explanation, which, with that already given, are not approved by the President.

I am, very respectfully, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES MONROE.

“ Mordecai M. Noah, esquire, &c. &c.

The receipt of this letter shocked me inexpressibly ; at this moment, at such a time, and in such a place, to receive a letter, which at once stripped me of office, of rights, of honour, and credit, was sufficient to astonish and dismay a person of stronger nerves.— What was to be done ? I had not a moment to determine. I cast my eye hastily on Commodore Decatur, I was satisfied at a glance, that he knew not the contents of the letter, it was necessary that he should not, for had he been made acquainted with the determination of the government, it would have been his duty, and he would have exercised it promptly, to have sent an officer on shore, taken possession of the seals and archives of the Consulate, and I should have returned to Tunis, stripped of power, an outcast, degraded, and disgraced, a heavy debt against me, and from my Consulate, from the possession of power, respected and feared, I should in all probability, have gone into a dungeon, where I might have perished, neglected and unpitied, and for what ? for carrying into effect the express orders of the government ! I had no time to curse such perfidy. I folded up the letter with apparent indifference, and put it in my pocket, and then proceeded to relate to Commodore Decatur the nature of our dispute with Tunis, which was corroborated, by the documents I had prepared and brought with me. I suggested the propriety of his writing a letter to the minister, and demanding payment for the prizes without delay, and the better to give effect to this demand, it would be well for the Commodore to remain on board his ship until it was complied with. This course I urged with a zeal corresponding with the stake I had at issue, and with my peculiar situation ; the Commodore could not account for this great anxiety to recover the money ; my object was to pay the protested bills, redeem the credit of the country, and thus enable me to return home with honour ; he must have imagined that other motives dictated this extraordinary warmth, and arguments upon

arguments, all of which I enforced with vehemence. You may probably, said he, imagine that I am under your orders ; if you do, it is proper to undeceive you. I saw a storm gathering, which would destroy all my plans, and I tranquilly assured the Commadore, that I requested nothing more than his co-operation to maintain our treaty inviolate, and by such measures, as his prudence dictated, we were only there to serve our country in the best manner. Thus satisfied, the Commadore, who originally was pleased at the prompt manner pointed out of terminating this difference, consented to write the letter, which was done forthwith. Night came on, and I betook myself to rest on the cabin floor, and in a state of mind better imagined than described. At day break the next morning, the lively drum and fife played the reveille, the officer on duty furnished me with a boat and hands, which landed Abdallah and myself under Cape Carthage. I had ordered horses to be on that spot at an early hour, and we ascended to the rugged summit, to look for their approach. I seated myself on the extreme height of the cape ; the sun was just rising, and the beautiful amphitheatre by which I was surrounded, was tinged with gold.—Not a soul was stirring ; below me were the diminished masts of our squadron, which was tranquilly at anchor ; at a distance, the smooth surface of the Mediterranean, without a solitary bark to break the prospect ; the birds were singing cheerfully, every thing appeared at ease except myself. I once more read the letter of Mr. Monroe. I paused to reflect on its contents. I was at a loss to account for its strange and unprecedented tenor ; my religion an object of hostility ? I thought I was a citizen of the United States, protected by the constitution in my religious as well as in my civil rights. My religion was known to the government at the time of my appointment, and it constituted one of the prominent causes why I was sent to Barbary ; if then, any “ unfavourable ” events had been created by my religion, they should have been first ascertained, and not acting upon a supposition, upon imaginary consequences, have thus violated one of the most sacred and delicate rights of a citizen. Admitting, then, that my religion had produced an unfavourable effect, no official notice should have been taken of it ; I could have been recalled without placing on file a letter, thus hostile to the spirit and character of our institutions. But my religion was not known in Barbary ; from the moment of my landing, I had been in the full possession of

my Consular functions, respected and feared by the government, and enjoying the esteem and good will of every resident.—What injury could my religion create ? I lived like other Consuls, the flag of the United States was displayed on Sundays and Christian holidays ; the Catholic Priest, who came into my house to sprinkle holy water and pray, was received with deference, and freely allowed to perform his pious purpose ; the bare-footed Franciscan, who came to beg, received alms in the name of Jesus Christ ; the Greek Bishop, who sent to me a decorated branch of palm on Palm Sunday, received, in return, a customary donation ; the poor Christian slaves, when they wanted a favour, came to me ; the Jews alone asked nothing from me. Why then am I to be persecuted for my religion ? Although no religious principles are known to the constitution, no peculiar worship connected with the government, yet I did not forget that I was representing a Christian nation. What was the opinion of Joel Barlow, when writing a treaty for one of the Barbary States ? Let the following article, confirmed by the Senate of the United States, answer :

“ Article 11th—As the government of the United States of America is not, IN ANY SENSE, founded on the Christian religion—as it has, in itself, no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Mussulmen ; and as the said States never have entered into any war, or act of hostility against any Mahometan nation, it is declared by the parties, that no pretext arising from religious opinions, shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries.”

If President Madison was unacquainted with this article in the treaty, which in effect is equally binding in all the States of Barbary, he should have remembered that the religion of a citizen is not a legitimate object of official notice from the government ; and even admitting that my religion was an obstacle, and there is no doubt that it was not, are we prepared to yield up the admirable and just institutions of our country at the shrine of foreign bigotry and superstition ? Are we prepared to disfranchise one of our own citizens, to gratify the intolerant views of the Bey of Tunis ? Has it come to this—that the noble character of the most illustrious republic on earth, celebrated for its justice, and the sacred character of its institutions, is to be sacrificed at the shrine of a Barbary pirate ? Have we then fallen so low ? What would have been the

consequence, had the Bey known and objected to my religion ? He would have learnt from me, in language too plain to be misunderstood, that whoever the United States commissions as their representative, he must receive and respect, if his conduct be proper ; on that subject I could not have permitted a word to be said. If such a principle is attempted to be established, it will lay the foundation for the most unhappy and most dangerous disputes ; foreign nations will dictate to us the religion which our officers at their courts should profess. With all the reflection, and the most painful anxiety, I could not account for this most extraordinary and novel procedure. Some base intrigue, probably one who was ambitious of holding this wretched office, had been at some pains to represent to the government, that my religion would produce injurious effects, and the President, instead of closing the door on such interdicted subjects, had listened and concurred ; and after having braved the perils of the ocean, residing in a barbarous country, without family or relatives, supporting the rights of the nation, and hazarding my life from poison or the stiletto, I find my own government, the only protector I can have, sacrificing my credit, violating my rights, and insulting my feelings, and the religious feelings of a whole nation. O ! shame, shame !! The course which men of refined or delicate feelings should have pursued, had there been grounds for such a suspicion, was an obvious one. The President should have instructed the Secretary of State to have recalled me, and to have said, that the causes should be made known to me on my return ; such a letter as I received should never have been written, and, above all, should never have been put on file. But it is not true, that my religion either had, or would have produced injurious effects. The Dey of Algiers had appointed Abraham Busnah his minister at the court of France, Nathan Bacri is Algerine Consul at Marseilles, his brother holds the same office at Leghorn. The Treasurer, Interpreter, and Commercial Agent of the Grand Seigneur at Constantinople, are Jews.

In the year 1811, the British government sent Aaron Cordoza, Esq. of Gibraltar, a most intelligent and respectable Jew, with a sloop of war to Algiers, to negotiate some important point connected with commerce. He was received with deference, and succeeded. The first Minister from Portugal to Morocco, was Abraham Sasportas, a Jew, who formed a treaty, and was received

with open arms. Ali Bey of Tunis, sent Moses Massias ambassador to London, the father of Major Massias, who was at present serving in the army of the United States. Innumerable instances could be adduced, where the Mussulmen have preferred employing the Israelites on foreign missions, and had any important dispute arose, requiring power and influence to adjust, my religion should have been known, and my success would have been certain ; but I had sufficient power and respect, more than have ever been enjoyed by any Consul before me, and none who succeeds me will ever possess a greater share. It was not necessary for a citizen of the United States to have his faith stamped on his forehead ; the name of freeman is a sufficient passport, and my government should have supported me, had it been necessary to have defended my rights, and not to have themselves assailed them. There was also something insufferably little, in adding the weight of the American government, in violation of the wishes and institutions of the people, to crush a nation, many of which had fought and bled for American Independence, and many had assisted to elevate those very men who had thus treated their rights with indelicate oppression. Unfortunate people, whose faith and constancy alone have been the cause of so much tyranny and oppression, who have given moral laws to the world, and who receive for reward opprobrium and insult. After this what nation may not oppress them ?

These reflections I could not avoid making, they were inseparable from my situation, and from the unexpected motives of my recall. Abdallah, my honest drogaman, had taken the pipe from his girdle, filled it, and was seated on some ruins, calmly smoking, occasionally casting on me an eye of anxious solicitude. There was something in this letter which I had not yet examined. Mr. Monroe informs me, that there were some circumstances, too, connected with my accounts, which require a more particular explanation, and which the President had not approved of. This was an additional cause of complaint ; yet no officer should be recalled for want of mere *explanations* in his accounts—probably my bills were received and not my despatches ; yet, had I assumed a power not specially delegated, had I gone beyond orders, squandered or embezzled the public money, this would have been a good and sufficient cause to have recalled me, this would have been the *proper* ground to have placed the dismissal upon, and not my religion ; but the government knew better, they were satisfied that I had kept

within the purview of my orders, and was able to give a correct account of my disbursements; on this subject I was perfectly easy, they could not venture to predicate the removal on such objections.

The morning by this time had far advanced, and I saw no horses, and left the ruins of Carthage and walked to Marsa, where I met my friend, the Danish Consul, to whom I recapitulated the measures we were about pursuing with the Bey. . He fully concurred in the promptness and expediency of our steps, and we went to Tunis together. In a short time the Minister of Marine sent for me, he had received the letter from Commodore Decatur, and was in no very pleasant humour. This is not, said he; a proper and respectful manner of doing business, why does not your Admiral make his complaints to the Bey in person? Why does he demand the payment of us for prizes, which the British have illegally carried away, and demand an answer forthwith? We are not accustomed to be treated in this manner; there was a time when you waited our pleasure to establish a treaty, and paid us for it; and gave us presents whenever we demanded them, and all within my recollection. I calmly assured the minister, that these measures were indispensable to the preservation of our rights; that he must have anticipated them, and should, as I recommended, have terminated the affair before the arrival of the squadron; that it was now too late, Commodore Decatur had determined not to land without a favourable answer. The minister finally assured me, that the money would not be paid, and I left him. There was some bustle and confusion at Bardo, the Bey sent for Mr. Nyssen, the Dutch Consul, and consulted with him, Nyssen advised him to resist the demand, and stated that we had no authority to declare war, and would not dare to commence hostilities. This was told to me by the Christian slaves. I sent a mild and friendly message to Nyssen, urging him not to interfere in our business, that he would lose his head in twenty-four hours after hostilities had commenced, for giving improper advice to the Bey. The minister sent for me three or four times; he appeared to be troubled, yet always assumed that grave and imposing demeanour, which they know so well how to put on. What is the reason Consul, said he, that you are so tranquil? Before your fleet was here you were loud and positive, now that you are backed by a force, you have suddenly become very quiet

and indifferent. I stated to him that remonstrance was no longer necessary, and that war was inevitable, except redress was obtained for the infraction of our treaty; that having made peace with Algiers on our own terms, the squadron was prepared for new contests, and that it was rather desirable than otherwise, for it was better to have no treaty, than to have one that was not respected. The minister, finding me so serious, left Tunis for Bardo. A report reached the palace, that Commodore Decatur, disguised as a common sailor, was seen with four hands in a small boat taking soundings of the bay, to ascertain how near the ships could be brought to the fortress of the Goletta. I knew not if this was true, it may have been so, but it served to create a great alarm.

In the afternoon, several officers came up to Tunis by land, among them was Captains Gordon and Elliott, with a number of Midshipmen. They rushed through the gates of the town with perfect indifference, and appeared to be much at home; the Turks regarded them with astonishment, and on their arrival at the Consulate, they expressed a desire to go to a Turkish bath immediately, and I sent Kaleel, the young drogaman, to the principal one to have it ready. These baths are considered very wholesome; the person is carried into rooms of considerable heat raised by steam, which, in a short time, produces a copious perspiration; they are then rubbed down with woollen cloths, their joints cracked, and thus relaxed, they are rinsed with several pails of tepid water, and wrapped up in a sheet to cool gradually. After the ceremony of bathing had been concluded, I went to the bath to see the officers, they were laying on mats arranged round the room like the wards of an hospital, and thus infolded with linen, and in a languishing lassitude, they were employed in smoking long pipes of sweet tobacco, and some were sipping coffee. They appeared to be delighted with the operation and effect, and some the next day repeated the visit.

Captains Gordon and Elliott were instructed by Commodore Decatur, to accompany me to the palace, to learn the ultimatum of the Bey. We were at Bardo at an early hour; anxiety and curiosity had brought a number of persons about the walls; the hall of audience was crowded, and Hassan and Mustapha, the two sons, were present, and were extremely active and insolent. A commanding appearance has great influence with the Turks; accus-

toned to measure every thing by the eye, they course over the exterior, and make few allowances for mind or character. Captain Gordon, who is now dead, had not an impressive figure, nor did he carry in his face or person, any token of that firmness of character, and generous and just sentiments for which he was distinguished. The Bey looked at him with the utmost indifference; he was a short man, worn down by illness. Who are you? said he; I am second in command of that squadron, Sir, said Capt. Gordon, and I am here to know whether you are ready to do us justice. Why does not your Admiral come on shore then said the Bey? Why am I treated with so much disrespect by him? He will not land, Sir, until you decide to pay the value of these vessels, which you permitted the British to take from us. Mustapha Bey then interfered, and in a tone of uncommon insolence and violence, was about to contend the matter, when Capt. Elliott observed, we did not come here to be insulted, this interview must be cut short. Will you, or will you not, pay for these vessels? answer nothing but that.—Well then, said Mustapha, thus pressed, and with a furious look, we will pay for them, but have a care, our turn comes next. Tell your Admiral to come on shore said the Bey, I'll send the money to the Consul, I am a rich Prince, and dont value it—go.

Thus ended the interview, and thus were the rights of the United States, as guaranteed by treaty, faithfully supported and rigidly enforced. Opposition is invariably made by these people to any demand affecting their interest, but when they are compelled to yield, it is like destiny, and is met with resignation, they think no more about it. The Bey ordered a letter to be written to Commodore Decatur, and doubtless felt a respect for that nation which would not abandon a point of honour.

On the following day the Commodore landed, and while the Consuls called to pay him a complimentary visit, Rais Hassuna entered with a slave, carrying the money. Seeing the British Consul in conversation with the Commodore, he lost all patience, and throwing down the bags, exclaimed, “see there, Sir, what we have to pay for your insolence, and the shameful conduct of your vessels, it is thus, Sir, you violate the rights of others, and leave us to answer for it.” “If any wrong has been done you Hassuna,” said Mr. Oglander, with great mildness, “address your complaints to the British government, and you will have justice.”

The amount paid was \$46,000, and a promise on the part of the Jew merchants, to repay 44,000 piasters for the merchandise, they, however, had time allowed them, and, after the squadron had departed, I could not obtain more than one-fourth that sum from them. The money paid was in the base coin of the country, Commodore Decatur probably expected to have carried that sum to the United States, and was rather pointed in his inquiries as to my right to receive and retain it. I satisfied him on this head, but could not inform him of the protested bills of exchange, which remained unpaid, and the nature of the despatch that he had delivered to me ; he probably thought that I was to remain in Tunis, when I expected to be in the United States before him ; and from the want of explanation, probably arose some unfavourable impressions on his part, which, however, I could not distinctly learn had existed.

Prior to the departure of the squadron, the officers had visited Carthage, and had expended a considerable sum in the purchase of shawls, otto of roses, pigeons, pipes, and other articles of utility and curiosity, and they left Tunis, carrying with them the most favourable opinion of the people.

At Tripoli the same remonstrance and the same results took place, and Mr. Jones received \$25,000 for the like aggressions, and honourably renewed the relations.

Thus terminated a war with Algiers, and two important differences with Tunis and Tripoli, in the short space of *fifty days* after the squadron had entered the Mediterranean, and by this prompt and determined course, the Barbary Powers have been inspired with more awe and respect for us, than during the four years war with Tripoli.

The pecuniary sacrifices of this expedition amounts to nothing, in comparison with the advantages gained, and it was on this account that I felt so much surprise and astonishment, that the government should have protested my bills, after having availed themselves of my information, and followed my suggestions in the prosecution of this war. I am induced to believe, that my advice was followed, because it was subsequently made known to me, that Col. Lear, pursuing his former tributary policy, had indicated, that peace might possibly be purchased of Algiers for \$300,000.

I lost no time in preserving the credit of the United States, by depositing in the hands of the Swedish Consul, subjected to the order of Mr. Oglander, the sum of \$21,613, to meet the payment of those protested bills, and made preparations to leave Tunis.— After paying this amount, together with duties, presents, &c. on these vessels, I found myself in possession of something more than \$15,000, which was transmitted to Marseilles, to purchase a cargo for the owners in the United States, which they subsequently received.

About this period a French frigate arrived from Toulon with the French Consul; events had changed once more in their political aspect, and the king was restored. The Captain of the frigate very liberally offered me a passage, and after six weeks residence, subsequent to the departure of our squadron, I proceeded to the palace to announce my intended voyage.

This was a delicate and difficult explanation; I could not tell the Bey that I had been recalled, for I had as yet no successor to present. I could not disgrace my country, or render it ridiculous in the eyes of Mussulmen, by informing them that the President had made objections to my religion, and I therefore came to the determination to state to the Bey, that I was about visiting Italy on business. He appeared to be alarmed. Why, there is no dispute I hope Consul, we are on good terms, are we not? perfectly so, I replied, and I leave Mr. Ambrosio to take charge of my affairs until my return, and should I not return, you will receive no Consul except he brings a commission from the President. The Minister of Marine said to the Bey, his government is about to send him to a better place; so far were these people from believing that my government had recalled, discredited, and probably intended to disgrace me; the Bey shook me kindly and affectionately by the hand; we had always been on good terms, and he had treated me with marked deference, the ministers all reciprocated their good wishes and kind remembrances, and I left the palace regretted I believe by all. So much for the “*unfavourable effects of my religion!*” The French frigate was called *Le Fleur de Lis*, and was commanded by Captain Le Coat Kirwegan, a very amiable and obliging man; she was bound for Toulon, and I had only to regret a quarantine of thirty days, which the rigid laws of France compelled us to undergo, arriving from Barbary.

About to depart from Tunis, I will claim the reader's attention to a few facts, connected with the government of the country, and which distinctly marks a peculiar and isolated people, disregarding the laws and ordinances of civilized powers, and by a singular infatuation, adopting the most contrary and opposite rules of action.— This, however, principally refers to concerns in domestic life, for there are some points connected with their laws and ordinances, which are worthy of imitation.

The administration of justice merits peculiar notice, from its promptness, and its certain and beneficial results. These governments, although they have ministers, have no reciprocity of confidence. The Bey, in order to prolong his reign; and establish his power upon a firm basis, must know every thing that is going on in his kingdom; events the most trivial, are minutely related to him, and he literally does more business than any monarch in Christendom, for participating in no amusements, his time is divided between affairs of government and domestic concerns. He rises at dawn, and goes through his ablution and prayers, a ceremony never evaded by a Mussulman. At seven o'clock in summer, and an hour later in winter, he is in the hall of justice, surrounded by all the officers of the palace, and attending in person to every complaint, and with admirable patience and perseverance, he listens to the cause of the lowest subject, who approaches his sovereign with perfect confidence, and relates his story. No quibbles or quirks, no statutes or ingenious devices of law, intervenes to prevent a just decision, which in all cases, except where the private interest of the Bey may be affected, satisfies the party concerned. The criminal jurisprudence is founded upon the immutable law of nature. Murder is punished with death, from which the culprit cannot escape, except he is rich enough to make his peace and satisfy the family of the deceased; for it is a principle with these people, that if a man kill the father of a family, and that family consent to receive support from the murderer, or an equivalent in money, it is better that the culprit escape, because, as they say, atonement cannot be made to the dead. This principle would not answer in civilized communities, where the passions may be let loose when they are supported by wealth. It is creditable, however, to these people to know, that wilful homicide seldom occurs, except in periods of revolution. The accused is brought before the Bey, tea-

timony is heard, which requires to be corroborated by positive or circumstantial proof, the culprit tells his story, denies or justifies, and the distinctions between the different degrees of homicide are duly considered, though not technically expressed. The Bey pronounces him guilty, and with a sign orders him either to be strangled or cut in pieces. He is immediately taken from the hall, outside of the palace walls, where he is cut or hacked to pieces by the gigantic blacks. Whenever I saw a crowd near the gates of the palace, I avoided the spot, where I was sure to meet the mangled carcass of some wretched culprit. Robbery is punished with cutting off the right hand, which is done immediately after conviction, by a bungling slave, and the stump is dipped into hot pitch as a styptic. Minor offences against the state or people are punished by *bastinadoing*, which, with the Turks, is the most general and prompt penalty. For offences against the state, or private malice entertained by the Bey against any person, he has inflicted a thousand blows on the soles of the feet or back, and this punishment, if well applied, occasions the loss of life; when the culprit is rich, he generally mollifies the executioners with some thousands of piasters, to apply the blows gently. On entering the palace, I have frequently seen two stout amps, who answer to the character of our constables, leading a poor devil from the hall, where he had received sentence of forty blows, in vain entreating the myrmidons to be mild in the operation, and destitute of a solitary asper to give effect to his entreaties; I have frequently bribed these callous executioners to be lenient, and the blows, which are applied with rods about the thickness of the fore-finger, are amazingly painful, and the poor culprit at each blow, calls piteously on his saint, who hears him not.

There are no set of people so fond of litigation as the inhabitants of Barbary, the least dispute they instantly refer to the Bey, Innumerable anecdotes are related of these trivial causes and their decision in the time of Hamouda Pacha,

All places under government are bought, and the highest bidder, without a reference to talents or qualification, is the successful candidate. There are no situations, however, so profitable to the Bey as the chiefs or governors of the several districts in the kingdom. These pay an exorbitant sum for the appointment, which they subsequently raise by extortions on their people. This system is

continued until the Bedouins go in a body to complain of their governor to the Bey. The governor, aware of their intentions, is beforehand with them, and purchases a favourable decision by a large sum of money. The Bey hears the complaint of the Arabs, receives their donation, and dismisses them with assurances that he will cause their governor to treat them better in future. Thus, receiving bribes from both parties, bribes to secure favourable decisions, income from commercial duties, farms, piracies, and the sale and ransom of Christians, the revenue of Tunis may be computed at a considerable sum, and as the expenses are managed with great economy, most of this sum remains untouched in the treasury. From a habit of administering justice for many years, Hamouda Pacha had accustomed himself to a promptness and decision which never admitted of quibble or delay. If a crime was committed, the culprit was immediately brought before him, the evidence adduced, the defence heard, the sentence given, and the execution immediately followed. He spoke little, and never without reflection, and always to the purpose. He accustomed himself to read the looks of men with a keen scrutiny, which seldom or ever deceived him in his ideas of character; and this species of investigation had become so familiar to him, that he was accounted a physiognomist of the first order. One fact alone will serve to illustrate this :

A Bedouin had a horse, which he valued highly, and which he was in danger of losing by sickness. In the fervour of his zeal, and conformable to the superstitious customs of the country, he vowed that if his horse recovered, he would present his favourite saint with one hundred piasters. The horse was pronounced out of danger, and the Bedouin, on serious reflection, regretted the extravagant vow which he had made. Consoling himself, however, with the assurance, that it was unknown to any but himself, he deliberated on the best means of getting rid of the claim; and accordingly, after a long struggle between his conscience and his avarice, he decided to pay the saint fifty piasters, being the one half of the original promise.

The Bey is trustee for all sums offered to the numerous saints in the kingdom, to whom he is accountable, and doubtless is prepared for settlement when called upon by them. The Bedouin repaired to the palace with his fifty piasters, and told his story. The Bey, struck with the hesitating manner of the man, suspected that all

was not right ; and, during the recapitulation of his story, he fixed his eyes upon him with remarkable keenness, and on his conclusion he said to him—Wretch, tell me quickly, did you not promise the saint one hundred piasters ? The affrighted Bedouin fell on his knees and confessed the fact. Caitiff, said the Bey, do you think that any thing is concealed from me, who am myself a saint ! Begone, bring the hundred piasters ; and, as a punishment for your sacrilege, you shall receive one hundred blows on the feet—which sentence was faithfully executed.

Every thing connected with the religion of the country, is beyond the Bey's control ; he found it necessary, in running the wall around the city, to pass through the burial ground, which occasioned great murmurings. Go, said he to the Musti, let me hear no more complaints, God takes care of the dead, I of the living.

A singular anecdote is related of a dispute between two Bedouins, which finally was referred to Hamouda Pacha. It appears, that one had several eggs, and the other a hen, and they agreed to set the hen to hatch the eggs, and equally divide the issue, but as they happened to be thirteen chickens, they quarrelled about the odd one, and referred the dispute to the Bey, taking the hen and her brood into court, and the Bey ordered the whole to be given to his cook, and transferred the parties into the hands of the executioners, who were ordered to inflict fifty blows on each, as a cure for their litigious disposition.

It would be supposed, that the Bey could not in person attend to all the concerns of the kingdom ; he does not attend to judicial cases in their first stage, his court is like a high court of appeals ; there are subordinate magistrates, or *cadi's*, who decide on petty causes, and the various denominations of merchants and mechanics, have each a chief, called *Iman*, to whom all disputes connected with their particular avocations are referred, and if unsuccessful, the appeal is made to the Bey. Bribery and corruption, however, poisons the pure source of justice. The Bey will take a bribe from both parties in a trivial case, and a Christian debtor, when once imprisoned, rarely escapes without loss of property. If criminal jurisprudence is just in its construction, and prompt in execution, it has, however, no attributes of mercy or consolation ; sentence is passed merely by a sign of the hand, and the culprit “ unanointed

and unanointed," is sent out of the world, with all his sins upon his head.

The military force of this kingdom, and its organization, was a subject of particular inquiry, and I made myself familiar with the power and talents of these people to defend their country by arms. The extent of the military force which can be brought into the field by the Bey of Tunis, is fifty thousand men. These are militia; for excepting the Turkish guards at the palace, and in the forts, there is no standing army. This force consists of the Zauavis, some Moors and Bedouins, including about four thousand Turks. They are poorly armed, and wretchedly equipped; the number of horses in the kingdom affords each man a conveyance from his district, so that the military force may be considered as cavalry. They carry a long musket, and use poor and weak powder; some have pistols, and most wear swords, but their high back saddles and short stirrups, their bent posture, and their cumbrous cloak's and hoods, deny them that facility and expedition in their military movements, for which civilized troops are distinguished. Upon a moderate calculation, our riflemen will charge and fire twice to their once. Their field-pieces, of which they have several in fine order, are very badly managed, they have no rule to govern them in loading, and no order or precision in firing, they have no ammunition wagons, their powder and shot being carried on camels, and they may be considered as a rabble host, poorly equipped and wretchedly organized, yet when fighting against Christians, they have been known to exhibit great bravery. The Sheick, or Governor of each province, commands his division, and Soliman Kya is commander in chief. The Tunisian army moves rather like a caravan, than a regular force; horses, camels, tents, mules, women, sick and wounded, Arabs and horsemen, are all mixed together, without order or arrangement, method or military rules, and the first charge from a regular army, would throw them into a confusion, from which they could not recover.

Tunis and Algiers are at war, the dispute originated about the island of Jerbi, to which both parties claimed a right, also the refusal of the Tunisians to acknowledge the superiority of the Algerines by paying tribute. This dispute led to several naval and military contests, which, in their results corresponded with what

might reasonably be anticipated from troops at once inexperienced and unorganized.

In the spring of 1807, the Dey of Algiers determined to attack the Tunisians, and reduce them to their former tributary condition. He raised an army of 25,000 men, one-half of which was cavalry; Hamouda Pacha, who was well advised of their movements, made corresponding dispositions. The two armies met near the frontier, and by a simultaneous movement, they both ran away; the Tunisians, however, being struck with the greatest panic, were thrown into such confusion, as induced the Algerines to recover from their dismay and pursue the fugitives, and in the route they abandoned 10,000 camels, with stores, ammunition, camp articles and artillery, which the Algerines took possession of, and returned in triumph to their city. Hamouda Pacha saw the necessity of repairing this reverse of fortune, not only to prevent a loss of power and probably of life, but to check the future operations of the Algerines. Accordingly he exerted himself with his accustomed vigour, and was soon ready for the field, the Sapatapa being appointed commander in chief of all the forces, with Soliman Kya under him, and both resolved to repair the disgrace of the late defeat. In July the army was on their march, and the Algerines hearing of it, took the field against them. Having exhausted their water and supplies, the Sapatapa ordered a halt, and encamped the army on a plain, which he flanked with cannon, and took precaution to prevent surprise. The foraging parties being out, met the advanced guard of the Algerines, at a short distance from the camp, to which they returned in the utmost confusion and consternation, and the army being again seized with a panic, prepared to fly. Every thing was in confusion, and the Sapatapa was incapable of giving an order, when the Algerine cavalry appeared in sight.—While distraction reigned among these Mussulmen, a French soldier by the name of Moreau, was stationed at a field-piece placed on a commanding height, he permitted the Algerine cavalry to approach within musket shot, and coolly fired his piece, and reloaded and discharged it; the enemy not suspecting such a reception, which threw them in disorder and killed several, reined up their horses and made a rapid retreat. This revived the drooping spirits of the Tunisians, and was ominous of their success, and

they in their turn pursued the Algerines. The two armies kept up a spirited irregular fire, out of gun-shot, for an entire day.—Towards evening, Soliman Kya, with his cavalry, made a feint, a very unusual thing among these people, to cut off a body of infantry, and for that purpose ascended a mountain; fearful of his design, the infantry retreated with expedition, the cavalry taking the alarm, galloped off in another direction, leaving the Tunisians masters of the field, and they possessed themselves of the Algerine camp, with all the camels, and twenty pieces of artillery, and returned in triumph to Tunis.

When we reflect on the wonderful battles fought by the ancients in this country, and their extraordinary results—when we examine their armies, and the characters of their generals, we cannot but pause in wonder at the contrast. Since the entire destruction of Carthage, no great battle has been fought in Barbary; the spirited skirmishes of Charles the Fifth with the Algerines and Tunisians, cannot be compared to any of the contests between the Romans and the Carthagenians, and since the reign of that accomplished Spanish monarch, nothing but marauding parties, and their indifferent results have been known. It is reasonable to infer, that the Mussulmen in the north of Africa, are wholly ignorant of the military art; they will not receive instructions from a civilized person, and have none amongst themselves capable of “placing a squadron in the field.” One hundred thousand European soldiers may safely march from the Gut of Gibraltar to the Deserts of Lybia, and twenty thousand disciplined troops can take possession and hold any of the kingdoms in the Barbary States.

It would, however, be unnecessary to fight these people for territorial possessions—gold will purchase their troops and their sovereign, and will accomplish more than force of arms; they may resist an army of poorly equipped soldiers, but they would yield without efforts to a force of a decided character, rich enough to purchase their good will, and powerful enough to punish their perfidy. A Turk can always be bought, and the Moors, if they are permitted freely to exercise their religion, and tranquilly pursue their accustomed avocations, are indifferent who reigns. A Christian army would find no difficulty in conquering this country, and the superstition of the Mussulmen would aid this conquest. On Friday, while they are at prayers, they close the city gates, being

always impressed with the opinion, that on that day, the Christians will gain possession of their towns.

The naval operations of these people are much on the same scale as their movements on land. The Algerines, who had the best fleet, blockaded the port of Tunis, and made an attack on the Goletta, but always beyond gun-shot; they commenced their attack at nine o'clock in the morning, and at twelve the parties ceased firing by common consent, betook themselves to their pipes and afternoon nap. Not a person was killed on either side in these contests, and the Algerines returned triumphant, as they said, to their port. In this loose and inefficient manner, are wars prosecuted in the Barbary States, and yet strange as it may appear, these States have been for ages the terror of the Mediterranean.

It may be supposed, from the leisure of Mussulmen, their sober and reflecting habits, that they have made great progress in mechanics; in arts and in science. This is not the case. No nation on earth, with equal facilities and resources, have made less progress in those branches, which ameliorate the condition of man. Their religion is the original barrier to their advancement, for it teaches intolerance, and justifies despotism. The education of the Arabs is merely confined to a knowledge of the Koran, and a facility in writing arabic. There are several schools in Tunis, in which boys are taught by a Mufti or Priest of a subordinate order; the alphabet and sentences from the Koran, are pasted on a board, which they hold in their hands; all the children read at once, which they do loud and rapid, accompanied by a quick motion of their bodies, so that clamour and confusion announces the neighbourhood of a school. I have often admired the facility and neatness with which boys write the Arabic. They seat themselves on their hams, which is a very common posture, lay a half sheet of paper on the palm of their hand, while, with a reed, they write the characters, and compose with expedition. Official letters are never signed; each minister or person of importance, has a seal, which he suspends around his neck, and makes an impression in lieu of the signature. Of architecture, sculpture, or painting, they are profoundly ignorant; the first, according to their system, is rude and heavy; the second their religion prohibits; and as for painting, they are only judges of colours, and can distinguish the gaudy, which is their favourite, from the dull and gloomy. The science

of medicine is known to them in the same manner as it is practised by our savages. The diseases of the system imperiously demand a remedy, and if it were not for the acuteness of pain, or the fear of death, they would use no efforts to discover medicinal plants, with which these kingdoms abound. Their Doctors, or *Tyibbs*, are men who have had some small practice; the barbers are most skilful, and there are some Jews who are successful practitioners.

It fortunately happens that the fine climate of this part of Africa prevents disease, and when the plague is introduced, they adopt no remedy and take no precaution: They use the lancet freely, presuming that most disorders arise from fullness of habit, but internal applications are resorted to with great caution.

There are many trades pursued in Barbary, but the principal ones are silversmiths, embroiderers, shoemakers, and tailors.—The silversmiths work in the rudest fashion, particularly the scabbards of *Attaghans*, which they emboss very curiously with uncouth figures; belts and housings for horses are very richly embroidered, together with caftans, vests, and other robes; slippers of Morocco are manufactured in great quantities, and sold cheap, and otto of roses, of the most pure and fragrant nature, is a valuable object of commerce.

Although the north of Africa has been for ages celebrated for salubrity of climate, and fruitfulness of soil, yet one-half of this vast continent is a desert, traversed by caravans, and by savage Arabs, who are among these scorching sands, what their corelegionaires are on the water—pirates and robbers. It has been supposed, and no doubt justly, that from the want of cultivation and civilization, the sands of the desert have encroached upon borders once fruitful and inhabited. In the *Cyrenaica* this is evident, for several ruins of important cities are now to be seen, three days march from the sea coast, and triumphal arches and broken colonnades are discovered bedded in sand, and surrounded by waste. It is well known that the ancients did not penetrate far into the desert, and if modern travellers reluctantly engage in journeys of discoveries, it is not to be wondered at; the difficulties and dangers by which they are assailed, are calculated to weaken, if not destroy energy and perseverance. What in nature can be more gloomy and dreadful, than a barren waste of several hundred miles, with no

cheering cultivation, not a shrub or tree, mountains of sand piled on mountains, shaken and agitated by the winds, like the waves of the ocean, a burning sun and suffocating atmosphere, without water or provisions, surrounded by savage foes, and dangers yet more frightful, the traveller who can bear up against these collected horrors, who, tempted by curiosity, by philanthropy, or by the avidity of gain, dares to penetrate the wilderness, where death and danger surrounds him, merits commendation for his spirit and enterprise. The boundary which separates the north of Africa from the desert, is the chain of the Atlas mountains, these, however, terminate opposite Gibraltar, where the lesser chain commences, and pursues its course, with occasional breaks, until it reaches the *Cyrenaica*. These mountains, which are inhabited and cultivated, are exceedingly fruitful, they are covered with snow, which the sun melts in the spring, and irrigates the fruitful plains below.

The French frigate was ready for sea, and all my baggage was on board, and I had only to take leave of those worthy and sincere friends, who had used every effort to make my residence agreeable in this wretched country, and who, ignorant of my motives in quitting it, ascribed my determination to a prejudice which all must feel. The Consuls transmitted me passports with complimentary letters, hoisted their flags, and some were on the beach by day break, to bid farewell to their colleague, and to offer their good wishes for his prosperity. My faithful drogamen were both at the Goletta, and expressed, with much feeling, their regret at my departure; and Kaleel, the younger one, a handsome Turk from the Morea, proposed to go with me to the United States and follow my fortunes.

I soon found myself on board the French frigate and under weigh, and thus terminated my mission to the Barbary States, after a residence of ten months, sufficiently long to ascertain, correctly, the genius and disposition of the people, and the face of the country and its resources. I found our relations, without being impaired, were still unsettled, and the nation, with its representative, were objects of no great consideration. I left our affairs in the best situation, and during my residence, events had occurred, which contributed essentially to place the United States on a footing with the most favoured nation; I had nothing to regret, my duties had been faithfully performed, and I left my post with the belief, that the ge-

vernment of the United States would explain, to my entire satisfaction, their motives in recalling me in the manner they did, in protesting my bills of exchange, and, in short, would make that full and unequivocal atonement due from an honourable government to the character and rights of a citizen.

I had now leisure to look back on the scenes through which I had passed for the last year, and contemplate the character and government of the people from whom I had just departed.

The Barbary States, separately or collectively, derive their character and power from the Ottoman Porte ; for notwithstanding an apparent disregard for the authority of the Sultan, it is evident from their annual presents of value, and the strict regard paid to his firmans, that they court his protection, solicit his favourable opinion, and stand in awe of his anger. It is then the Porte which upholds and countenances the piratical course pursued by the Barbary States, and although, from the connexion between European powers, the Grand Seigneur does not himself make Christian captives, he evidently permits the Regencies of Barbary to pursue their own will, and gratify their own prejudices, in making war upon the Christian powers. These piratical states then, are mere dependencies of the Sultan, and are governed by him on all important occasions. He is the source of their power, and in all instances should be made answerable for their conduct ; and happily for the world, for justice and civilization, the power of Europe, either confederated or divided, is sufficient to bring the Porte to proper terms.

The Turkish government, originally founded by the sword, has been maintained by the same means, and matured and strengthened by the absolute power and unconditional will of their great master ; and the attributes, temporal and eternal, which the subject ascribes to the sovereign, renders this will and power unlimited in its operation and effect. The governments in Barbary are mere types of this authority—minature representatives of the customs of Constantinople. The people are ignorant of their own rights, and of representative government ; obeying the will of their chief, they consider him the military and civil officer, responsible to no one for his measures, and ever at liberty to punish with death, without assigning a just cause. The Bey of Tunis, in order to imitate the

custom at the Porte, has a Divan, which is composed of old Agas, 200 Boulanchis, 200 Alfieres, or Oldaks, and a combination of civil and religious persons in office. The president of this body, is called *Aga de Courci*, or colonel of the chair; this officer was formerly head of the army, and the different subalterns in command of the military force, were chosen from this Divan; his term of service does not last more than six months, and the eldest member takes the chair. This body "of grave and reverend Seigneurs," is seldom called together, and when they are called, it is on some religious question, and their decisions, in all cases, corresponds with the wishes of the Bey, who announces them to the Aga de Courci, who always votes first, and the whole body governs itself by his vote. This Divan, therefore, is a mere mockery of representation, yet the Bey finds it necessary, at times, to throw the responsibility upon them.

I have already observed, that the police of Tunis is admirably organized. It is necessary in all despotic governments, where treason and revolution are frequently on foot, to have a vigilant police. Robberies in the city are seldom heard of, and they are not frequent in the country; a few years ago, travelling was considered dangerous, it is perfectly safe at present. During the day, the guard is committed to the care of an officer called the *Doulettry*. Formerly this officer was of great importance, the Beys received orders from him; his office now is more honourable than powerful, and he is appointed by the Bey, from among the oldest members of the Divan. The last Doulettry was supposed to be in the interest of Algiers, about the time they invaded Tunis, and a sleeping draught was, as customary in such cases, administered to him, from which he never awoke. The office is considered so respectable, that the chief is allowed to sit in the presence of the Bey, and when he visits the palace on public occasions, the Bey rises from his throne and embraces him. He is permitted to use a carriage with four wheels, which honour is prohibited to all, except the Bey and his family; the Consuls having only two wheels to their carriages. The Doulettry has a guard, and keeps the keys of the Gaspa, and the city gates, he holds a minor court, and punishes with bastinado; the office answers to that of our mayor. The night watch is assigned to the care of a chief, called *Sheick-Medina*, or chief of the city.—He must be a Moor, and his hambas, or guards, are also Moors. The patrols of the city are under his direction, and these consist

of citizens armed, who commence their rounds after dark, and the utmost tranquillity prevails during the night. I had occasion once to pay a visit of ceremony to the Sheick-Medina, whom I found to be a lively and agreeable man, upwards of ninety years of age; he conversed with me in the most sociable manner, treated me with conserves and perfumes, and appeared to possess uncommon spirits; he assured me that he never drank wine, or ever decided unjustly, that he was independent and disinterested. There are certain periods of the year, when visits of ceremony are due to all distinguished persons in Barbary; the principal one, is the feast of Biram, which is on the conclusion of the great fast of Ramadan.— This fast is rigidly kept for forty days. Between sunrise and sunset, no food or drink is tasted by Mussulmen; not even a pinch of snuff, or a pipe is permitted. To the rich, this fast is not severely felt, for they sleep all day and feast at night, but to the labouring poor, it is a severe penance. I have seen, towards evening, in this fast, which falls in August, upwards of fifty poor persons, sitting in a row near a Mosque, each with his pipe filled with tobacco and lighted, a small cup of coffee in hand, anxiously looking at the Minaret, for the Mufti, or person who proclaims the going down of the sun, and the moment his loud and sonorous voice is heard, the pipe is applied to the mouth, and two or three hearty whiffs are taken, and immediately washed down with a draught of coffee. On one of these gala days, the Consular body visited the Bey. The palace was crowded with the Divan and officers of all descriptions, the Bey received his visitors while seated in the patio; prayers were said, piously and devoutly by the Mufti's. Coffee, lemonade and perfumes, were plentifully distributed, and after his highness has been exhausted with receiving congratulations, he arose with his court to view the sports. These consisted principally of wrestling, which was performed by Turks half naked and smeared with oil, and the amusements were enlivened by the bands of music, screaming, discordant, and annoying. Altogether, their government, habits and amusements, appear to be the reverse of what is found in civilized nations, and they actually study the customs of Christians, that they may adopt the exact reverse. The character of the Turks is a compound of artifice, hypocrisy and cruelty; instances have been known where they have exhibited a nobleness of sentiment, but they are very rare. Their religious impressions teaches them to disregard all who do not profess the Moslem faith.

In negotiation and in commercial transactions, it is very difficult to carry a point against them. In their declarations, they are so serious, so impressive, so apparently fair, that they put truth to the blush—they mean nothing what they say, if it militates against their interest. A Turk is never off his guard, he cannot be approached with gayety, frankness or confidence. Always reserved, weighing well their words before they are uttered, thinking much and deep, it requires talents and knowledge of mankind, to keep on good terms, without surrendering important points. Although the Turks, in their intercourse with Christians, perform but few good acts, yet they are well pleased with a Christian, when they find him possessed of integrity, liberality, and good temper, such a person may live tranquilly with them, and occasionally receive some indifferent favours. The relations between the Christian powers and the Barbary States, can only be satisfactorily maintained by force, or by a display of that force occasionally. They respect no nation for their character, genius, or disposition, but only for their wealth and power; and the sight of a few frigates, sailing in and out of their harbours, has more effect than years of negotiation. We never had occasion to pay one cent for tribute, after we had four frigates and four sloops of war. Yet living in a barbarous country, a Consul finds it necessary for his comfort and convenience, to make some few presents, to prevent occasional obstacles, too trifling for national consideration; and when the government of the United States has an officer of character and capacity at these Regencies, they should not only afford him every protection in their power, in his rights, his credit and character, but should annually return him thanks, for consenting to relinquish the comforts of civilization, to serve his country in that miserable part of the world.

A contrary wind kept our frigate baffling in the bay for several hours. This was the first time that I had ever been on board a vessel of war belonging to the French nation, and I had a new field open to me for the study of national character, habits and pursuits. The naval warfare, which, for many years, has been waged by the Belligerents of Europe, has, after more than a century, placed the crown of victory on the brow of the English. We see the navy of Holland triumphant, and the British compelled to yield to their superior skill, when jealousy and rivalry were set on foot, and encouraged between Van Tromp and De Ruyter, then the English

Fleet became in its turn victorious, and the navy of Holland decayed, and with it all commercial enterprise. We see French ships of war, fighting bravely with the British, and capturing them, even handed. The advancement of a more perfect system, gives the British the entire sovereignty of the ocean, and the battles of St. Vincent, Nile, and Trafalgar, weighs down the French navy almost beyond the power of recovery. The British, without a rival, scours the ocean, "feels power, and forgets right," is involved in war with the Americans, and the conquerors of Holland, Spain, and France, are in their turn conquered. Thus the trident of Neptune appears to have been transferred from one nation to another. To what may these reverses be ascribed? To a want of proper system and discipline on board of ships of war; and forty days residence on board of a French frigate, confirmed me in this opinion. We all know, that on land, no army is better disciplined than the French, and strange as it may appear, no navy is in worse order; and though soldiers and seamen fight with determined bravery, although they are ever cool and undaunted, proud and high spirited, they have been generally victorious on land, and generally defeated on water. Bring the French naval system under the same government, in every respect as the British, and give them some experience in this system, and very different results will be observed in their naval actions.

I had been on board of American ships of war, and it is not a national attachment which induces me to say, that nothing can be more perfect than our discipline, and the organization of our vessels; in these requisites, we are far before the British, but I never saw any thing to equal the discipline on board the *Fleur de Lis*.—The captain was not only an amiable man, but an able one, and calculated in every respect for a naval commander; he had a full complement of officers and men, and I never saw the men exercised at their guns once while I was on board. In a gale of wind, a hundred voices gave orders, every person was an officer, sails were handled awkwardly, and few good or capable seamen were to be seen. In good weather, a view of the gun deck was amusing and singular. An old ragged fiddler was seated on a gun near the cabin for several hours each day, and playing cotillions for such parties of sailors as were off duty, and who danced with infinite grace, with naked feet and canvass *culottes*. These sailors allowed the fiddler,

who was also *Maitre de Dance*, a small monthly sum out of their pay, and he did no duty, excepting playing fashionable airs, and screaming out, all day, the different figures, *Chassez*, *Rigadoon*, *Dos et dos*, &c. In the centre of the ship, the mess boys and powder monkeys, who could not afford to pay for the music, were surreptitiously availing themselves of its benefit, by forming a cotillion or private party of their own. In one corner, a sailor covered with tar and grease, was giving his comrade a lesson in the science of defence, and with a net over their faces, and foils in hand, they were practising, and with effect, the *Carte* and *Tierce*, “the *Punto* and the *Reverso* ;” further off, a couple were engaged at quarter staff, a very common and useful practice ; here a sailor was picking oakum, and singing, with great taste and compass, *Oh Richard, O Mon Roi*, another humming the *Troubadour*, from the opera of *John de Paris*, and a third vociferating *Malbrook*. Such a hum of voices, such tunes from operas, notes from the violin, ejaculations of *aha ! aha !* from the fencing master, and the trumpets of officers on duty “hoarsely bawling” *Carga le Grand Voil* ; such confusion prevailed, as the Tower of Babel could only have excelled. Had an enemy appeared, these accomplished and lively seamen, would have broke off from their amusements with reluctance to have given battle, and even admitting that they had gone cheerfully to their guns, the confusion which prevailed, would have surrendered them an easy prey to the enemy.

On the tenth day, we anchored in the harbour of Toulon, and by the quarantine laws, we were compelled to reside at the Lazaretto for thirty days, having arrived from a place always suspected of the plague. We passed this period on board the frigate, and on shore alternately, in a dull and unprofitable manner, and hailed, with satisfaction, the period when we were permitted to land.

Toulon has long been an important maritime depot, and contains one of the most extensive and magnificent arsenals in France, and also a basin, capable of accommodating a great number of ships of war, and all which are defended by numerous batteries and castles. This place is of ancient date, and was first fitted for an arsenal by Louis XII. I here saw some unequalled ships of 132 guns each, built in the most elegant manner, and navigating like a canoe.—

The city has nothing to boast of, the streets are not spacious nor airy, but are clean and refreshing, and it may contain 20,000 inhabitants, who trade in brandy, oil, wine and fruits, and who have some cloth manufactories ; the principle reliance, however, is on the navy.— The town is surrounded by mountains, and the air is pure, soft and wholesome, and the climate, altogether, is justly considered and called delicious.

Near the city, are a variety of country houses, bedded in groves of olive and vineyards, with orange and poplar trees, surrounded by flower gardens, containing the most rare and delicate plants. Living is very cheap. The captain of the frigate informed me that he owned a small house, and with a large family, he contrived to live well for 3000 francs per annum, \$600.

I left Toulon for Marseilles, in a cabriolet ; post horses were in demand, as some Austrian troops were about to bivouac in the neighbourhood of the city, much to the dissatisfaction of the French people, who were determined that they should not enter the walls. The distance between the two places is about forty miles, part through pleasant vineyards and cultivated fields, and part through roads rough and stony ; there are two or three pleasant villages, particularly Aubagne, celebrated as the birth place of the good and learned Abbe Barthelemy.

On my arrival at Marseilles, I found all my friends equally attentive and hospitable, yet not being able to account for my return from Africa. The Erie sloop of war, Capt. Crane, was in port, having on board Mr. Anderson, appointed as my successor. Though I had been most unhandsomely treated since my acceptance of a public office, I still did not forget what was due to the public service, and to the interest of the country, and was at some pains to give this gentleman a clear insight into the character and policy of the people among whom he intended to reside. In order to contribute also to his comfort, I had left my furniture, horses, wine, plate, and articles of value for his use ; and then, on his return, to be sold to pay the rent of the house I occupied, and furnished him with introductory letters to the public functionaries, by whom he was well received. Within a few months past, I have seen Mr. Anderson, who has already retired from the office, and I had the satisfaction to hear from him, that my representations were found useful and correct.

Unwilling to risk a tedious passage down the Mediterranean at this season of the year, I determined to cross the country and take shipping at Bordeaux, and after a few days residence, I left Marseilles, and passed through Nismes, Montpellier and Narbonne. It is impossible to conceive the satisfaction which is felt from a change of residence, such as I had experienced. Living something less than a year in Barbary, witnessing carnage and revolution, a daily spectator to intrigue, cruelty and despotism, with few friends, with no sources of amusement, no family, isolated and banished from civilization—even with an ample salary, and the grateful protection of country, neither of which were mine, my situation was deplorable indeed; and had I been recalled in a manner more suitable to my character and rights, I should have left that wretched country with pleasure; as it was, still I hailed the change with satisfaction. I was once more among enlightened men, once more in civilized society. I saw no longer the turban of the suspicious and sanguinary Turk: I no longer grasped the handle of my stiletto, or carried arms in my defence. I could breathe freely, speak freely, I no longer viewed my fellow men with distrust, and I thanked God that I was in a Christian land.

Leaving Narbonne to the right, we pursued our way through a beautiful country, highly cultivated, over mountains and through valleys, bearing marks of fruitful industry, until we reached Carcassonne. A crowd near an old bridge impeded our progress, which we found to be occasioned by the Duke d'Angouleme, who, with a large retinue, was about reviewing some troops. He passed near me on horseback, and appeared to be a short person, of about 35 years of age, bearing no indications of genius in his countenance; he was on his way to Bordeaux, and the loud shouts of the people, seemed to prove that he was popular.

Carcassonne is a very old city, being a flourishing place in the time of the Romans. The name is derived from a female, who was called *Carcasse*, a Saracen, and who defended the town against a spirited attack of Charlemagne. There are several very ancient buildings in this town, particularly a venerable chateau, and it has some vestiges of antiquity; a heavy column, erected by the Romans, near the city, of gray marble, bears the following inscription:—

PRINCIPI JUVENTUTIS
M NUMERIO NUMERIANO
NOBLISSIMO CÆSARI
N. M. P. P.

Carcassonne lies between the river Aude and the Canal of Midi, it carries on manufactures of woollens and threads, and contains about 14,000 inhabitants, who are represented as polite and hospitable.

Castlensaudary is a few posts from Carcassonne, and is situated in a fertile and highly flourishing country, and near the Canal of Midi. This was the *Castrum Novum Arrii* of the Romans, and it was in their time a flourishing town; it now contains about 7000 inhabitants.

The Canal of Languedoc runs near Castlensaudary, and about fourteen miles from this place is the extensive basin of St. Ferrol, which is the great reservoir for feeding the Canal, a wonderful effort of industry and ingenuity.

From Castlensaudary, the boat on the Canal carries passengers to Toulouse, which is seven posts further, passing through the lively little town of *Villafranche*, and the villages of Baziege and Castanet.

The Duke d'Angouleme was on a tour of observation, and as he travelled with post horses, I had great difficulty in obtaining relays. About a mile from Toulouse, I met the Prefect and Municipality of the city, together with a number of citizens dressed in their best attire, waiting to receive his Royal Highness, and with an old coach newly painted and adorned, and four horses harnessed to it, were prepared to introduce him in triumph to his faithful, or rather good city. In a short time the retinue of the Duke made its appearance, the postillions drove him furiously by his honour the Mayor and all the Aldermen, without any further salute than a gracious nod of his head, and a glance at the old coach through an eye-glass. I was under the walls, and the furious cavalcade drove my postillion and cabriolet very nearly in the ditch. I had to submit, there is no bringing a Prince before the police in France.

Toulouse is one of the oldest cities in France, and its venerable spires, its heavy walls and dark houses, attest its ancient and

gloomy character. It was the capital of the *Volsi Tectosagi*, who kept in good repair a celebrated amphitheatre, the walls of which, near the town, still exist. The Romans used every effort to embellish it, and it was said to have been a flourishing city of ancient Gaul. The streets are not so narrow as those of other cities in this province, and the public squares are neither elegant nor regularly built, and excepting the *Hotel Ville*, and one or two very ancient cathedrals, there are no public buildings of any note.—The walks in the environs of Toulouse, compensate for the gloomy appearance of the city, and are beautiful and attractive; that of the *esplanade*, which is planted with rows of high and waving poplars; also, on the borders of the Canal, and on the bridge, from which a view of the Pyrennees may be had, are the principal and most frequented.

The arrival of the Duke gave to the city an air of animation somewhat unusual. Groups of peasants assembled near the hotel where he resided, and were chaunting old ballads and airs from "*le chasse de Henri quatre*;" *bourgeoise*, in their holiday suits, were attracted to the public square, and were there anxiously waiting to "catch a look or a smile from the great man." In the evening it was expected that he would attend the theatre, to which place I repaired, and the performance was suspended until the arrival of the Prince. To fill up the tedious time, the good natured audience in the *parterre*, were singing patriotic songs, and the entrance of their favourite was greeted with loud and repeated acclamations. The theatre was small, meanly decorated, and the performance barely tolerable.

There is not as much commerce from Toulouse, as would be supposed, from the facility of conveyance on the Canal; there is, however, a brisk intercourse kept up between this place and Bordeaux, and Toulouse trades in corn, wool, silk, wine, flour, timber, tobacco, snuff, broad-cloth, stuffs, woollens, &c. and the city contains about 50,000 inhabitants. It has suffered much from religious dissensions, and a shade of bigotry appears to be cast over the people.

I left Toulouse the next morning for Bordeaux, which is at a distance of two hundred miles, and through a fertile and picturesque country, thickly populated, and passed by several neat

and thriving villages, until I reached *Montauban* to breakfast.—Here the river Tarn divides itself into three branches, having a communication both with the Canal and the Mediterranean, and consequently possessing as many commercial advantages, as a small city can possess, which is so near Toulouse. It is built on the brow of a hill ; the town is clean, neat and handsome, and contains upwards of 20,000 inhabitants, the majority of which are protestants, who manufacture woollens, silks, calicoes, leather and soap ; it has a theatre and public library, and is a very agreeable and lively place. This town, like Toulouse, and the next town, *Moissac*, a flourishing town of 8000 inhabitants, suffered much from its religious wars, and the Calvinists long maintained a desperate and sanguinary control.

In *Moissac* I stopped to examine the ruins of the Abbey built by Clovis, and said to have been sufficiently spacious to have contained 1000 monks. It was not surprising that religious wars should have laid waste these fine provinces, when such battalions of the “ Church Militant ” were kept in comfortable quarters, and regularly fed and disciplined.

Agen is the next important town, and is built on the banks of the Garonne. It was a flourishing town in the time of the Romans, and many antiquities are still to be seen, such as the ruins of an amphitheatre, baths, cisterns, &c. but I had no time to visit them. The place is said to contain 10,000 inhabitants, and is in a prosperous condition, and celebrated as the birth place of Joseph Scaliger.

From *Agen* to *Bordeaux*, the distance may be estimated at one hundred and twenty miles, comprising many flourishing villages, and through a country justly celebrated for its fertility and wealth, and on the third day after leaving Toulouse, I found myself at the Hotel Fumel, one of the best in *Bordeaux*, and from which I had a view of the Garonne, with many American vessels taking in their cargoes for the United States.

The commerce between this port and America has greatly decreased ; at one period, we transacted more business with *Bordeaux*, than with all the other ports in France ; it seemed to be the centre of our commerce. The restrictive systems, however, adopted by both nations, seems to have given a great blow to this prosperous

intercourse ; and if the government of France would demand but a small duty for our tobacco and cotton, it is evident that we could reciprocate the favour, by imposing in return a light duty on their silks and wines, and I have often thought, that if the French knew their interest on this point, that they would meet us without delay, as the introduction of cheap French wines would benefit our country, and banish those strong liquors which are consumed in such quantities under the name of foreign wines ; and as for silks, we could at once stop the importation from the East-Indies, and thus very essentially benefit the manufactories of France.

Bordeaux is truly a beautiful city, and nothing can be more strikingly picturesque and animated than the situation of the port, which, for three miles, ranges in a sweep or crescent on the banks of the Garonne, and along which runs a noble quay, with stores and dwelling-houses, and filled with the lively and bustling hum of commerce. The width of the Garonne is less than the East River, the ships and barks are at anchor, as there are but few wharves, and they take in their cargoes from lighters. One of the most useful and important buildings in Bordeaux is the Exchange, which is said to be superior to any in France. It is a spacious place, built of an oblong quadrangular form. The court where the merchants congregate, receives its light from an arched roof, with glass windows ; it is paved with flag-stones, and the entrances are through iron lattice gates, and it is divided into departments, marked with the different commercial quarters of the world, and merchants trading to those quarters are found at their respective posts. Outside of the court and under the arcades, are shops filled with jewelry and fancy articles, corresponding with the Palais Royale at Paris, and tables, behind which people are stationed, who change money and trade in bullion. Exchange hours are from three to four o'clock, but it always is a lively place. The *Grand Theatre*, as it is called, is in reality a splendid and spacious building, and it was built in the prosperous days of the good Louis the 16th. It was originally contemplated to have built something very handsome, but the cost of this theatre, it is said, exceeded three millions of francs, and I doubt whether any theatre in Paris is equally splendid or extensive. It faces one of the finest and most frequented public walks in the city, called the Alleys of Tournay, the left side is on the spacious and elegant street of Chapeau Rouge, and the right

on a neat and spacious street, the name of which I do not remember, but leading to my hotel. As this theatre is not cramped for want of room, or hid in one corner of a dark and narrow street, it is seen to the greatest advantage. A row of pillars support an elegant colonnade in front, with a balcony and a ballustrade, on which are statues of Apollo and the Nine Muses. The vestibule and noble flight of steps leading to the entrance, with the saloon and lobby, are truly magnificent, and much superior in style and ornament to the interior of the theatre, which, though spacious, does not correspond with the exterior. The boxes are cramped, and are not supported by pillars, which gives a naked appearance to the whole. The scenery, music, and *Dramatis Personæ*, are very little inferior to any other theatre in the country, excepting the three principal ones in Paris. There are two smaller theatres in Bordeaux, in which *Vaudvilles* and petit operas are performed.

No city in France, it is generally conceded, has so many agreeable walks and promenades, as Bordeaux. Those who are fond of the bustle of commerce, who derive pleasure in viewing the ships of different nations, loading and unloading their cargoes, may enjoy a pleasant ramble on the extensive quay. The Alleys of Tournay, shaded with trees, is much frequented; *Reu Chapeau Rouge*, contains fancy stores; and a pleasant ride to the *Champ de Mars*, near the Chartrons, affords novelty and variety to the stranger.

Bordeaux is of ancient date, and still contains antiquities, which, though not extensive, are curious. The principal attractions of ancient character, are what is called the ruins of the *Palais Gallien*, so presumed to be, in consequence of its having been built by the Emperor Gallienus, in the third century. But it is evident, from a glance, that these were the ruins of an amphitheatre, and one of the most extensive ever built, I doubt whether it was not larger than that of *El Gemme*, in the kingdom of Tunis. The fragments of the wall, here and there intercepted by modern houses, and with arches, clearly show its circular form; it was built with stone and brick intermixed, the walls are of slight materials, and it bears no comparison to the ponderous antiquities in Numidia.— It is well known that Bordeaux was once a Roman colony, and was wrested from them by the Visigoths, who were finally expelled, after many desperate conflicts, by Clovis. *The Chateau Trompette*,

was originally built on the ruins of a Roman Temple, by Charles the Seventh, and this castle is now also in ruins. There are several venerable churches, and an admirable City Library, of which a namesake of mine, and a corelegionaire, was Secretary and Librarian, it has also a Museum of Antiquities, particularly specimens of ancient sculpture.

Society, from the general intercourse with strangers, and important commercial connexions, has acquired a very frank and agreeable character. The Bordelaise are hospitable, lively and attentive. There are few Americans residing here. Mr. Morton, long known as an active and capable merchant, is much and deservedly respected, and peculiarly attentive to his fellow-citizens ; and Mr. Brown, who has extensive connexions with the United States, and a large and interesting family, is remarked for his hospitable notice of Americans.

After a residence of a few weeks in this agreeable city, in which there is much gayety and bustle, I took passage in the fine ship *Hunter*, captain Reynegan, an able and experienced man, and we dropped down the river, and came to, near a fishing village, called Royan, where we were detained several days with head winds.

The entrance to the Garonne is rather difficult, and hence very serious accidents occur, one of which I witnessed. In a heavy blow and very hazy weather, while standing on an eminence, and looking at the lighthouse of the Corduan, a very conspicuous and commanding object, built on a rock in the sea, I saw a ship under a press of sail, endeavouring to weather a ledge of rocks which makes from this tower ; the wind and current united, baffled her efforts, she floated on them, and in a few minutes went entirely to pieces. The wind was boisterous, and the waves were high. The people with difficulty got into their boats, surrounded by fragments of the floating wreck and bales of cotton, and made for the land. They entered a small fishing port, called St. George, a league from Royan, and I mounted a horse and galloped over the beach to assist them ; half-way I was stopped by two *Gen-des-Armes*, who demanded my passports, and refused to let me proceed ; nothing could be more vexatious : I represented the nature of my journey—they were inflexible ; at length I bribed one of

them to accompany me, and we reached St. George, just as the boat with the half drowned crew and passengers had arrived. The vessel proved to be the *Lydia*, capt. Watkins, from New-York, with a valuable cargo, which was entirely lost, and the passengers had not saved a single article. This was a melancholy prospect for me, who was on the eve of crossing the Atlantic. Among the passengers, was an interesting boy of ten years of age, who had lost all his clothing, and was drenched with salt water ; he rode behind me to Roan, full of spirits at his providential escape.

In a few days we took our departure with a pleasant and favourable breeze ; we had several French passengers, and a Dutch family, who were emigrating to America, and in 44 days we entered the capes of the Delaware, and after an absence of three years, I landed in my native country, more attached to the soil, to the character of the people, and national institutions, from the opportunity of contrasting their advantages with those of foreign nations. I had been daily expected by my friends, who knew not the precise motives which produced my recall, nor the manner in which it had been indicated to me ; general rumour having reached them, that I had been charged with having exceeded my orders, and I lost no time in proceeding to the seat of government, in order to check the circulation of an opinion so very erroneous. The reader has been made acquainted with every event connected with my appointment, and I persuade myself, that he is prepared to hear from the administration, a concise avowal of their motives, followed by such acts of justice, as are always due from an honourable government to a citizen, who had cause to feel himself injured ; the result will show, whether these conjectures were to be realized. I presented myself to Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of State, prepared to give and receive explanations, and with a temper and disposition calculated to forget every thing, if suitable indications of justice and liberality were manifested ; but, on the contrary, determined to resist any attempt to add to the injustice with which I had already been treated. My reception was altogether as ungracious as it was undeserved, and certainly unexpected, from a citizen possessing the character of Mr. Monroe. Instead of a frank disavowal of any authority to predicate my recall on religion, instead of assurances of a liberal construction of authority, instead of regret that any measures had been accidentally adopted, calculated to wound the feel-

ings of a citizen, or a whole nation, on a very delicate point, instead of a promise, which I confidently expected, and which was due to me of a restoration to an office of equal rank, when my affairs were honourably closed, Mr. Monroe, in a very few words, accused me of going beyond orders, employing a most obnoxious character, expending the public money unnecessarily, justified the recall and its manner, and then told me if I could clear up the affair, and satisfy those friends who had recommended me for the office, that *he would be satisfied*, and thus our first interview terminated.

A reference to the documents in the foregoing pages, will show how far I had gone beyond my orders ; and as to the appointment of Keene, if I had authority to appoint an agent, I certainly selected him with caution and with good advice, and whatever grounds the government had to dislike Mr. Keene, he was a stranger to me, and his services in Algiers I deemed of consequence.

Presuming that Mr. Monroe had pre-determined on the manner of my reception, by the advice of the President, I thought it unnecessary to see Mr. Madison on the subject, and therefore lost no time to collect all my documents, and to prepare suitable explanations, which, when concluded, I caused to be printed in a pamphlet form, in order to lay before Congress, and to demand at their hands, that justice which my fellow-citizens in the government had denied to me ; my principal object, however, was to cause my letter of recall to be struck from the files of the Department of State, as being a document, not only unconstitutional and discreditable, but calculated to impair, very materially, the rights of an increasing portion of the community ; and I calculated, that resolutions disapproving the course pursued by the government in my case, would have shown to the world, the close adherence, the strict regard, the sacred attachment, evinced for the institutions of the country, and their superior influence to personal or political considerations.—Prior to taking this step, I sent one of the pamphlets, which was written with mildness and respect, to the Department of State, with the latent hope, that the clear explanations which it contained, would induce the government to do what was strictly right. The Secretary caused it to be thrown on the table, that every person may read it, and with a view of showing with what indifference they

regarded any appeal to the people from their measures and decision ; I was pained to see this little spirit exhibited by the government, this fictitious display of a power, which we all know is transitory. I had ever supported the government, had been the warm political friend and advocate of the administration, but I never anticipated such a course, and am persuaded, that the people cannot be acquainted with the operation of such feelings and doctrines in the officers of their choice.

My friends in Congress, who had recommended me for the appointment, were unanimous in their opinion, and expressed to me their regret, and to the government their unequivocal disapprobation of the course pursued. They, however, intimated to me, that no good effect would result from an appeal to Congress, that that body had no control over the documents in the Department of State, and as Mr. Monroe had been nominated for President, it might and would be construed into political hostility, and reported so accordingly, which certainly had no connexion with my views. They considered the measures of government as accidental and unfortunate, but united to assure me, that I might place every reliance on the justice of Mr. Monroe, who had ever been remarked, except in this instance, for a prudent exercise of official power. A Senator of the United States, and one of the most distinguished, gave me the following letter, directed to the Secretary of State :—

“ SIR,

“ It has been intimated to me by Major Noah, that you are desirous of conferring with me in relation to his case. From the character of this gentleman, and the knowledge I have of him, I should suppose him to be incapable of conducting himself improperly on any occasion. Under these circumstances, and as my state of health prevents me from waiting upon you, I feel it to be but an act of justice towards him to declare, that on examining his statements and documents, I have not been able to discover *any thing reprehensible in his conduct*. The employment of Keene, the charge apparently most relied upon, would seem to be excused, if not justified, sanctioned as it was, by the advice of Mr. Hackley, who had been long in the service and confidence of government.

I have the honour, &c.

This letter I delivered open to Mr. Graham, then Chief Clerk of the Department of State ; Mr. Monroe declining to see me, instructed Mr. Graham to inquire *what I wanted*. I had expressed but one desire, from which I never varied—it was to do me justice ; settle my accounts, and if there is a dollar due me, let me know it officially ; that was the first step in my situation, and after mortifying, perplexing, and expensive delays, after twelve months had elapsed, after three special journeys to Washington, the *Attorney General* was instructed to *adjust my claims*, and at length I received the following letter :

Department of State, January 14, 1817.

“ Sir,

Your account as Consul of the United States at Tunis, has been adjusted at this Department, in conformity with the opinion of the Attorney General of the 30th of December last, of which you have a copy ; and a balance of Five Thousand Two Hundred and Sixteen Dollars Fifty-seven Cents, REPORTED TO BE DUE YOU, WILL BE PAID TO YOUR ORDER, at any time after Congress shall have made the necessary appropriations. A sum of One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-four Dollars, besides a charge of thirty-five per cent. loss on the disbursement of YOUR Agent at Algiers, is SUSPENDED, for reasons mentioned in the account of which you have been apprised.

I am Sir, respectfully

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

S. PLEASANTON.

Mordecai M. Noah, Esq.

Thus ended my connexion with the government, and thus fell to the ground the charge “ of going beyond orders ;” nothing then remained of the official charge but my religion, a subject which I had reason to believe, the President would have reconciled in a suitable manner, but which, after three years delay, has not commanded his attention.

If I have occupied too much space in this work, with recapitulating my official concerns, the reader will bear in mind, that this is the first attempt since the adoption of the constitution of the United States, to make the religion of a citizen an objection to the possession of office ; a principle so foreign to the constitution, so

much at war with the genius and disposition of the people, and so dangerous to the liberties of the country; that citizens cannot be insensible to the new and dreadful features which it exposes; none can hear with indifference this measure of the government, and none will turn a deaf ear to the representations of an individual who has sustained an injury. Governments have a natural propensity to encroach upon the rights of citizens, and if those rights are worthy of being preserved, the utmost caution should be used, to guard them with a vigilance that never slumbers. If a letter such as I received in Barbary, had been written by order of a sovereign, presuming that a king could do such a wrong, I should have submitted to it without a murmur, knowing the tenure by which I held my office; but, my fellow-citizen, the President, to disfranchise me from holding the office of Consul at Tunis, when I am eligible to the station which he holds, cannot but be viewed as an assumption of power neither known nor tolerated. Nothing is easier than to establish a principle in governments, and nothing is more difficult than to destroy this principle, when it is found to be dangerous. My letter of recall has become a document on file at the Department of State, which hereafter may, without the present explanations, go to disfranchise a whole nation. I felt it to be my duty to clear up this affair, and as I caused my country to be respected abroad, it was not anticipating too much, when I claimed a reciprocal respect and protection from the government. I had heard it rumoured, that Col. Lear was the prominent cause of that letter having been written to me; he is now dead, and I have only to express my astonishment at the extraordinary and mysterious influence which he exercised over the administration. I, however, subsequently gave Mr. Monroe an opportunity of doing that justice, which I flattered myself he was disposed to do, by requesting, that I might be restored to an appointment of equal rank; but no notice was taken of my application. I had no objections to make. The conferring of appointments, is a power correctly vested in the executive; if he thinks proper to exercise that right in accordance with his own feelings, in advancement with his own views, in support of his own attachments or prejudices, it may be lamented for the sake of the public service, but cannot be prevented; the check in the Senate is all that the constitution provides; still it is expected, that the Executive, chosen for a transitory period by the people, will, in all cases, consult what is most acceptable to the

people and creditable to the country. It is not necessary for me to say, that Mr. Monroe is emphatically an honest man. I measure men by the aggregate of their virtues and vices—all are liable to error—many pertinaciously adhere to their measures, though they may be manifestly erroneous ; and such is the imperfection of our natures, that when a wrong is done intentionally or accidentally, a second wrong is frequently added in confirmation of the first, if complaint is made or clamour heard. Still, with these errors, the balance is greatly in favour of the President for past services, sincere attachment to country, and strict integrity ; he has his weak points like other men : when these do not affect the public service, or go to establish dangerous doctrines, they are not necessary objects of inquiry ; but recurring to the first principles of our government, there is nothing which will tend more securely to preserve our liberties, than freedom of speech and the press, a scrutiny into public measures, and a firm, but respectful tone to men in power. Mr. Monroe regretted the steps which he had pursued towards me—there was an idea floating on his mind, that I had not been well treated, but he only regretted it, as it affected him : he had no consideration for my feelings, for my rights or character ; he would have been pleased to have arranged the affair in a manner mutually agreeable, but I had not presented myself to him with that submissive tone, with that “ bondsmen key and bated breath,” that he probably expected : he said I threatened to appeal to Congress ; he should have been proud to have seen a citizen thus anxious to support his rights and character, and he should have aided, not opposed me, not bent the power of government to crush an individual.

I have said thus much in proof to political opponents, that I am under no obligation to Mr. Monroe, that my support of the administration is grounded on principle, on nobler motives than personal favour ; and as long as he is in the administration, and his measures are calculated to promote the honour and prosperity of our country, so long will I support him. I have no favours to ask, or prejudices to indulge ; I have considered it my duty not to labour under suspicions or insinuations, and have thus endeavoured to explain them.

“ The evil which men do, lives after them,
“ The good, is oft interred with their bones.”

The subject of our public credit abroad, is of material importance to the preservation of our national character, interest and rights. An erroneous idea prevails in the government, that the protest of a bill of exchange, drawn by an officer on a foreign station, cannot impair the public credit; and if a doubt exists as to the power of the officer, or his instructions to draw upon the government, his bills are protested without ceremony, and without any intention to affect his credit, or injure his prospects. This is subjecting the nation to loss, to injury of credit, and a charge of bad faith; and while our coffers are overflowing, while our means are more than ample to meet every public exigency, our foreign credit will be on the worst footing, and our officers will be backward in affording indispensable facilities to the government. It is of less consequence if payment of bills is suspended, which are drawn in the United States, for the parties being on the spot, can always explain; but this advantage is not possessed by an officer on a foreign station—his bills may be received, and his advices lost: a just and liberal construction of power and authority should always prevail, if not on behalf of the officer, then on behalf of the nation, on behalf of our character and credit.

The British government has maintained, unimpaired, the credit of the nation, under the most discouraging and perplexing difficulties; they never have protested the bills drawn by officers abroad, except under the most imperious circumstances, when the officer had no authority for drawing at all: and even then, if the protest would affect the credit of the nation, the bills would be paid, and the officer recalled, imprisoned and disgraced; but the public credit is of too much importance to be sported with. I have contended, and have been opposed in the opinion, that it was our duty, and we have it amply in our power, to pursue the same course, and to produce the same results. Let every applicant for an appointment on a foreign station, present himself with stronger testimonials of character, than would be necessary for an officer in the country, because, when on the spot, the government have various sources to ascertain his conduct, which they cannot correctly have when abroad, and they must depend upon representations which are frequently erroneous, prejudiced and unjust. Let the government know the officer personally, ascertain his capability, and regard his appearance and manners, because our nation is frequently

judged abroad, from the character and manners of our representatives. If the appointment is made, then let him give good and sufficient security, corresponding with the trust reposed in him, for its faithful performance, and thus guarded, let him depart with the perfect confidence of government ; if he goes beyond his orders, squanders the public money, or abuses his trust, pay his bills, call him home, make his bondsmen answer, or, if you please, hang him ; but do not, on any account, let the public credit suffer ; it is better that the nation should lose a million in money, than lose the value of a dollar in credit or character.

The situation of the Consuls in the Barbary States, is rendered more unpleasant, by the limited means which are afforded them, of maintaining an appearance, corresponding with the character of the country. Though called Consuls, for the sake of economy, they are, nevertheless, resident ministers—the only representatives of the government, and possessing, when necessary, plenipotentiary powers. With a spacious house, which is held sacred, carriages and horses, guards and servants, they are left to starve upon \$2000 per annum, out of which, nearly one-half goes for rent and contingent expenses, which should be paid by government ; and not alone is he left without means in that inhospitable and dangerous quarter of the world, but it is more than probable, that the accountant in the department, may, quite at his ease, dash his pen through several items, for want of vouchers, which cannot always be produced. The ambition which a citizen may feel of serving his country abroad, is a laudable one, but it should be governed by prudence and discretion : he may possibly resign fair prospects at home, in the hope that on a foreign station, he may be on the road to advancement ; but if he is not backed by friends in power, by men of influence, by men whom it is the interest of the government to listen to, and when he thinks, “ good easy man,” that his government appreciates his character, services and talents, he will find himself stripped of office, to give the robe to some new applicant, who may possibly possess more influence. I am not the only one who is a living instance of this impolitic and improper course. Other governments, when they have a good officer, treat him with deference and confidence, and never remove him ; but in a government like ours, where new candidates for distinguished stations present themselves, when political considerations have a paramount influ-

ence, the tenure of office is very uncertain ; yet I have never ceased to believe, that whatever changes may be necessary at home, these never should extend abroad ; and as it requires time for an officer to be familiar with foreign habits, customs, and languages, when he is useful or popular, no political change should affect his office, and no man, however influential, should be permitted to cast his eye abroad, and rove from office to office, and when he finds one to suit him, call on the President to remove the incumbent. Such a course will render our foreign affairs unsettled, irregular and injurious ; and although the cost of our foreign relations are, in truth, but trivial, they are arranged with less order, and managed with less ability, than any other department of government. I allude solely to the Consular establishments, which, in a mercantile point of view, are of vital importance to the country. Congress would be consulting the interest of the United States materially, by amending our laws respecting Consuls, and giving each of them a reasonable salary ; the consequence would be, that men of fixed character and suitable qualifications might be tempted to accept of these offices.

Our relations with all the states of Barbary, continues at present on the best terms. To expect friendship or liberal motives from these people, would argue an ignorance of their character. It is by power, by force of arms, by a display of maritime strength, by the *lex talionis*, that we ever can look for tranquillity and respect from pirates. Their hatred to Christians, their secret malice, intrigue and despotism, unite to prohibit the adoption of the same measures which are generally applied to civilized powers. When they do wrong, they must be punished promptly ; when they commit any aggressions, redress must be demanded and obtained forthwith—a point of honour must never be surrendered, and to protect our commerce effectually in the Mediterranean, a small squadron should be always stationed there. It was supposed that if we could obtain an island in that sea as a depot, that the interest of our navy and commerce might be strengthened. I think differently. Any European possession, must necessarily make us a party to disputes in Europe. We have friendly ports open to us, where all our supplies can be had ; and if our squadrons can leave the United States, make war upon the Algerines, and conclude a treaty in the short space of fifty days from the period of their departure, we are near enough to the scene of action.

Since the war with Algiers, which terminated so promptly and gloriously for our arms, which has justly excited the admiration of Europe, the British, induced by the example, and feeling the necessity of doing something for the world, and also to repair those evils, which their commercial monopoly had been instrumental in producing, fitted out a squadron under the command of Lord Exmouth, which, in its results, has reflected honour on the nation, and glory to the individuals attached to it.

It required, however, repeated outrages to arouse the vengeance of the British, and though they could not help feeling for humanity, their considerations of interest, blunted those sentiments, which, in liberal minds, should never have been checked; they could not forget, that for a century, they had let loose these pirates to prey on the unprotected commerce of their rivals—they still had hopes, that as a general peace had taken place, these corsairs might be made useful, under certain restrictions. The nature, however, of the European alliance, the ties which bound the sovereigns together, their demands on the navy of Great Britain to protect Spain, Holland, Hamburgh, Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples, rendered it necessary to make an effort, and Lord Exmouth visited Algiers, to try the effect of negotiation; he was insulted, the British Consul imprisoned, and the officers with him maltreated. Smarting under these wrongs, he repaired to London, and the cabinet were disposed to give him a squadron, for the purpose of revenging these insults, when an affair took place, which at once confirmed all doubts and wavering on the subject; this was the massacre at Bona.

Since La Cala has been in possession of the African Company, the Coral fishery at that place, at Tabarca and at Bona, has been very valuable. This is farmed by merchants and companies at Naples and Leghorn. The boats which cross the Mediterranean, are about five tons burthen, and managed with three or four experienced men. These fishers rendezvous at Bona and Tabarca, under the superintendence of an overseer, appointed by the Consul; they have a Chapel, and a Priest who officiates, and they go to sea every Monday, with a little bread, fish and water, which serves them during the week, and on Saturday evening they returned with the fruits of their labour to enjoy themselves on Sun-

day. As if to mock the power of Europe, and insult all Christendom, as well as outrage humanity, it was resolved at Algiers, that these unfortunate and inoffensive people should be put to death, and on the 31st of May, 1816, while they were at prayers, two hundred of these poor fishermen were inhumanly massacred.— This atrocious act aroused the vengeance of Europe, and hastened the expedition under Lord Exmouth. Omar Dey, who had timely notice of their approach, made the necessary preparations to receive them, repaired his batteries, called in an immense portion of the population in the kingdom, availed himself of the services of many French officers, who, I lament to say, volunteered on the occasion, and calculated upon a furious attack. The British Admiral arrived under the walls of Algiers, with nineteen sail of various descriptions, one of 130 guns, and a flotilla of gun-boats and mortar vessels, together with a Dutch squadron of six heavy ships, under the command of Admiral Van Capellan.

This squadron had been prepared with caution, and was admirably equipped, and commanded by the most experienced officers. The Dey, as a matter of course, had imprisoned Mr. M'Donnel, the Consul; he had mounted new cannon on the mole, under which, as he imagined, in perfect security, lay his squadron and flotilla, consisting of forty or fifty gun and mortar boats, and the whole works, which are tremendous, were manned with 40,000 men, distributed in various batteries, and in and about the city.

On the 27th of August, 1816, the combined fleets appeared before Algiers, and Lord Exmouth sent a flag on shore to demand terms, with orders to wait three hours for an answer. A breeze enabled the squadron to take an advantageous position, as had been agreed upon, and the Queen Charlotte, bearing the Admiral's flag, came to anchor with her guns directed towards the mole. The batteries were manned, and the gun boats prepared for action, the Queen Charlotte was so near, that her yards nearly touched the houses. At 40 minutes past two, the boat returned without a favourable reply, and the signal, "are you ready," was satisfactorily answered, the beach and terraces were crowded with people anxious to see the fight, the British Admiral waved his hand for them to get out of the way, when the fire opened from the ships, which was returned with fury and spirit from the batteries. The Algerines, in

their gun-boats, had intended to board, but the showers of round and grape shot thrown among them, had dispersed and sunk many, and defeated their object. The Mussulmen continued to fight with their peculiar desperation, their batteries were cut to pieces, and their guns dismounted, they manned their batteries afresh, and mounted new guns, and the Dey in person encouraged their efforts; the ships were cut to pieces, and suffered amazingly in killed and wounded; the battle raged with fury until seven o'clock, and victory was doubtful, when the whole of the Algerine navy, consisting of four heavy frigates, five large corvettes, gun-boats, mortar vessels, together with barges, &c. was set on fire and burnt to the water's edge. This event had an awful effect on the Algerines, and at once destroyed their energies, and damped their spirits. Their fire slackened by degrees, and about nine o'clock it ceased on both sides. The town and batteries were nearly destroyed, and the British and Dutch not in a situation to have continued the contest much longer. The loss on both sides was immense, the number of Mussulmen killed could not be ascertained, the allies had 883 killed and wounded. The results of this desperate engagement were as follows:—

1st. The abolition, for ever, of Christian slavery.

2d. The delivery of all slaves in the dominions of the Dey, to *whatever nation they may belong.*

3d. To deliver all the money paid for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of the year.

4th. Reparation made to the British Consul for his losses.

5th. The Dey to make a public apology to the Consul, in the presence of his ministers and officers, in terms dictated by the Admiral.

These stipulations were all fulfilled, the humbled and sanguinary Turk, bowing submissively to the rod which had chastised him.

Algiers, at ten different periods within three centuries, has been attacked by the squadrons of Europe, but never with equal effect and equal results, as this of Lord Exmouth. Great Britain has

atoned for the censurable countenance and protection afforded to these pirates. She may boast of her battles of the Nile, St. Vincent and Trafalgar—nay, may seek, if possible, to obtain “a passing paragraph of praise,” for the unjustifiable attack on Copenhagen; she may crown with laurel her Blake, Rodney, Jarvis, Howe, and Nelson, but the attack on Algiers eclipsed them all, because, with equal bravery, it produced greater results: it did not alone swell the pride of the nation, but it benefitted humanity; it struck off the chains of one thousand Christian slaves—it abolished for ever the horrid custom, and, for the first time, the navy of Great Britain fought the battles of the civilized world; and among her first chiefs and her most distinguished officers, the name of Exmouth should stand conspicuous.

To feel the great benefits which this attack on Algiers has produced, to be sensible that civilization has been eminently benefitted, and to know the feelings of the ransomed captive, persons must be, like I have been, familiar with the character and policy of these people—he must see them, as I have, put their foot on the neck of a prostrate Christian, who had fallen into their unrelenting power—he must hear the clank of chains and the echoing whip of the task master, and he will unite with me in paying due honour to those who have risked their lives in behalf of humanity.

Our navy, by its prompt and vigorous operations, promoted this beneficial result, and produced, on the minds of the British, the most melancholy comparisons. There was a time, when bending under, and submitting to the aggressions of the British, that feelings of wounded pride and constant irritation, widened the breach to that degree, that mutual respect seemed to be lost sight of; but when the nation put on armour, and authorised retaliation, then it was that the character of our navy, and the resources of our country, were correctly estimated by the enemy. We can now afford to be liberal; and although a few carping writers, men of narrow minds and hostile feelings, still deny us that credit, for which we have proofs, yet I have ever found the distinguished officers of the British navy perfectly willing to admit, and spontaneously bear testimony, to the gallant issue of our arms. It is only men of subordinate rank, and of subordinate minds, who are disposed to “cavil with us for a hair” Seignior Pananti, a very interesting and liberal writer on

the Barbary States, has the following observations in his work relative to this country :—

“ There are, perhaps many, who would like to see the American Republic acquire a port in the Mediterranean ; that being the first nation of the present day, which sent a naval force to chastise the pirates ; showing an important example to the nations of Europe, and how subjects should be defended ; and this from a nation entering into commercial rivalry with Great Britain, could not fail to be highly beneficial to the shores of the Mediterranean ; a nation which is daily rising in splendour, glory, and prosperity ; and may, in fact, be called the land of promise, as Italy is of reminiscence.”

This truly flattering compliment from a stranger, could not escape the illnatured reflections of the British Editor, Captain Blacquire, of the Royal Navy, who in a note on this remark, makes the following observations :—

“ Such is the opinion which the Americans have contrived to create for themselves on the Continent ; for I really believe that the author is recording that of the Italian public, rather than his own ; although I confess the conduct of the United States government, has a sufficient degree of puny cunning and trading chicanery about its bombastic and inflated policy, to impose even on such minds as that of Mr. Pananti : and I am ready to confess, that the success of its navy in punishing the Algerines, is entitled to the *very highest praise* which we can bestow on people, who are determined to defend their own *property*. I am equally ready to allow, that they displayed the *utmost gallantry during the late contest with England* ; that they are to be admired for the rapid strides they are making towards the formation of a navy, which will no doubt call that of another power into action at no very distant date ; an event to which I do not look up with fear and trembling.”

There is in this note of Captain Blacquire's, some snarling innuendoes, mixed with faint praise ; he admits, however, that our navy “ displayed the utmost gallantry in the late contest with England.” In his letters from the Mediterranean, speaking of the bravery of the Tripolitans, he says no just estimate can be had of it, though they did “ *beat the Americans*.” If this be true, that the Tripolitans did beat us, and several years afterwards the same

writer admits that we beat the British ; he has then placed his own nation beneath the Tripolitans. It shows the necessity of liberality and truth, when national character is called in question, and that those who write for the information of the world, not for the gratification of their own prejudices, should be governed by fixed and correct principles, so that at a future day their writings may not rise up in judgment against them. .

After the Bey of Tunis had paid me the 46,000 dollars, he sent Rais Hassuna with a vessel of war to Marseilles, in order to demand the payment of that sum from Lord Exmouth. Hassuna speaks English fluently, and he waited upon his lordship to demand justice. He experienced a rough and unwelcome reception ; the Americans did right to make you pay for these vessels, you have had your full share of robbery on the high seas, said his lordship, and times must now change ; but your vessels, my lord, came into the waters of the Bey, my master, and there cut out two prize ships, said Hassuna, and I ask, is this just ? Yes, Sir, it is just, we will take them from your waters, we will take them from off the very turban of the Bey, if he violates the treaty. I have a squadron here, and intend to pay him a visit, we have a long account to settle with him, and you may go and announce my approach. Hassuna assured the Admiral that it was unnecessary to visit Tunis with his squadron, that all would go on well, and the treaty be respected.

The Algerines, after their signal defeat, took active measures to repair their works of defence, and revive their naval power.— Still bent on piracy, they obtained a few fast sailing Greek vessels, and fitted them out, but it was evident, from the peace in Europe, that they feared to adopt their old and sanguinary measures ; humbled and weakened, they found it necessary to ease their tumultuous feelings, and smothered passion, by the sacrifice of some person, and they resolved to put the Dey to death, the brave officer, whose valour was so conspicuous in the late attack, and whose energy and talents were so useful and necessary ; but he was unfortunate, and that was a sufficient cause. Accordingly, the Janizaries assembled in front of the palace, and in the usual tumultuous manner ; the Dey called for assistance from the naval and military officers, who, accustomed to these scenes, and familiar with the result,

declined interfering. He sent to demand their pleasure, they replied, that they wanted an individual within, he offered to double their pay, which offer they refused; finding them resolute, his firmness forsook him, and he swallowed poison, but its operation not being sufficiently quick, the Janizaries entered the palace, seized and conveyed him to the public square, and there strangled him, and returned peaceably to their quarters. A Moor, who held a subordinate office, was immediately proclaimed Dey. Thus fell Omar Bey, and in a manner which he must have confidently anticipated. He was about forty-five years of age, and represented to be one of the handsomest men in the kingdom, brave, manly, agreeable, intrepid, and cool; his talents in the field, had long marked him as a suitable person to appoint as chief of this kingdom. His predecessor was called Ali Bassa, a sanguinary and fanatical Turk; it was this chief who had declared war against us, and who died by poison.

* The principal mercantile house in Algiers, is that of Bacri's, the eldest of the firm was also the Governor of the Jews. The close and confidential connexion, which has always subsisted between the Algerine government and this wealthy house, gave to the Bacri's unlimited influence. They were treasurers and advisers of the Dey, in relation to foreign affairs, and the Consuls of the different nations, drew on their respective governments through this house, for their usual supplies. The Dey, finding it necessary to urge some demands against Spain, ordered the Bacri's to loan no money to the Consul, notwithstanding which, they gave him facilities that materially affected the Dey's plans, and he intercepted some of the letters. He sent for David Bacri, one of the most intelligent and clever men in the kingdom; and told him with evident regret, that he had forfeited his life, recapitulated his orders, which he had violated, admitted his worth and services, and then ordered his guards to cut off his head. In vain did this unfortunate man attempt to justify, to implore mercy, to offer half a million for his head—the Dey was inexorable, and in a few minutes, the bleeding head of this merchant was placed on the gates of the palace. The Dey sent for his father, a man of seventy years, restored to him the property and jewels found on the person of his son, and ordered him to act as Governor of the Jews. These acts of cruelty and despotism, are familiar to the people, who inquire

what heads have been cut off, with as much indifference, as we do for the current news of the day.

There are not many renegadoes in the Barbary States, and those who have renounced their religion to embrace the doctrines of Mahomet, are such who have been compelled to fly from their native country for crimes ; some who were governed by ambitious views of advancement, and others led into it by drunkenness, or driven by fear, consequently the renegadoes in Barbary are the worst part of the community, respected by none, and shunned by all—narrowly watched by Mussulmen for fear that they should escape, and punished with death if detected in the attempt. The renegadoes generally, are the most viscious, because, to all the bigotry and intolerance of their new faith, are added, the upbraidings of conscience, and the maddening reflection, that they are branded as apostates, hated, shunned, and ever suspected.

Murat Rais, of Tripoli, alias Peter Lysle, when he changed his faith, or rather when he pretended to adopt a new one, exhibited the utmost rancour towards the Christians, which was manifested by his earnest efforts to induce the Pacha to declare war against us, in which he succeeded. He has lately given a second instance of hatred towards us, by employing three Moors to attack and murder our Consul, Mr. Jones, in which they had nearly succeeded, and on all the Consul's being called together, they decreed, that Murat Rais should be banished, one of the Moors beheaded, and the other to lose his hand ; but this sentence was manifestly improper, they should have cut off the head of the principal aggressor, and banished the instruments, for it is evident, that when the transaction is forgotten, Murat Rais will return to Tripoli, to practise new villainies ; at all events, this barbarous outrage on a citizen of the worth of Mr. Jones, while it demands a prompt remedy, will serve to convince the government and people, of the danger in holding these offices, and the confidence, respect and support due to citizens on these stations.

I had in my family at Tunis a renegado servant by the name of Hamet, he was a Dane by birth, and a seaman by profession, and had changed his faith in a fit of intoxication ; he was an inoffensive character, and was exceedingly anxious to escape. Being a good sailor, he was employed on board of a cruiser, which, having

stretched as far as the British Channel, anchored off Plymouth, and Hamet, who spoke English, was sent on shore in the boat with four trusty Turks, to purchase provisions. He had hardly landed before he twisted the turban from his head, and took to his heels, with the four Turks after him, and cried out murder lustily ; the people came to his relief, and he represented that he had been forced to abandon his Christian faith, and now had escaped from his masters, and once more returned to his old religion ; as it may be conceived, the people gave him every protection, and in the usual amiable manner, for which an English mob is distinguished, they drove the Turks to their boats, surmising by the way, the propriety of ducking them, or making them turn Christians also.

During our late war with England, an officer by the name of Shaw, and a relation to a most worthy magistrate of London, committed some act which rendered it necessary that he should escape. Arriving in England, he was pursued and compelled to quit the country, he went to Naples, where, fearing that a demand would be made for him, he jumped on board of a vessel and arrived at Tunis. Finding it necessary to give some account of himself, he represented to Mr. Oglander, the British Consul, who and what he was, concealing of course, his criminal conduct ; he stated that being at Naples, a bet was made among some English gentlemen, which would be the first person on the ruins of Carthage, and that without any preparation, he had repaired on board a vessel then under weigh, and arrived first. His story being plausible, and being a young man of intelligence, and agreeable deportment, he was treated uncommonly well by the British Consul, and frequently visited the palace with him. One day, after a residence of several weeks, the drogaman returned from Bardo, and stated that Shaw had turned Turk. The Consul repaired to the palace, and there found Mr. Shaw, with his head shaved, richly dressed, in the Turkish costume, and wearing an elegant sabre, strutting up and down the patio, with evident content. Fearing that his residence would be discovered, and he demanded and delivered up, he came to the resolution of changing his religion ; and the Bey, pleased at the idea of having a British officer in his service, dressed him in fine clothes, and promised him his protection. He viewed the British Consul with sovereign contempt, and though for a length of time partaking of his hospitality, he greeted him with

some quotations in good English, such as "Christian Dog," &c. and requested the Bey to send him where he could never see the face of a Christian more. The Bey sent him to one of the towns in the interior to learn the language, where it was subsequently reported that he would sit under the gates, and weep daily at his folly, and his isolated and miserable condition.

The tranquillity which now prevails in Europe, affords a proper opportunity to agitate the question of the conquest of Barbary, or at least such parts of it, as may tend to civilize that fanatic portion of inhabitants, which has been so long permitted to make war upon Christian powers, and which will ever be the terror of the Mediterranean.

The situation of the Italian States, very forcibly appeals to the more powerful potentates of Europe. There seems to be a disposition to prevent, any of these small kingdoms from attaining naval or commercial importance ; and the British appear desirous that the terrors of the Barbary cruisers, should still have the effect of preventing the Genoese, Neapolitans, Tuscans, Romans, and Sicilians, from covering the Mediterranean with their respective flags, and thus, by their economy and coasting knowledge, take from them a large portion of the carrying trade. It is true, that the British, by their late operations at Algiers, have very materially benefitted the civilized world, but they have only "scotch'd the snake, not killed it ;" it is evident that they will, when their power increases, go on to make war on these weak nations, and still continue the ignominious system of Christian slavery. It may not always be in the power, or conformable to the interest and disposition of the British, to send a squadron to chastise them ; therefore every facility should be given to such of the kingdoms in the Mediterranean, to equip and organize a squadron, as may be calculated to give effectual protection to the trade, and to the safety of persons engaged in this trade. As long as the Mahometan sceptre is permitted by the Christian powers to be wielded in the Barbary States, the Mediterranean should be the common highway for the squadrons of every nation. This course could be easily and profitably pursued. The United States will always, while at peace, keep a respectable force in that sea. Great Britain, from its possessions, must necessarily have several ships of war cruising in

their neighbourhood. Spain and France are not without their flags. Naples could have three or four frigates always in commission, besides smaller vessels. Sardinia could send out a few heavy ships. Austria should have some force in the Mediterranean, and make some efforts to establish a naval power. It is essentially the interest of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, to send each a few frigates in that quarter of the world, not only to exercise their men, but to display their flags. Thus would each nation, at a small expense, be sufficiently represented in the Mediterranean, and acting in concert, if necessary, would, without effort, keep these pirates in awe; and the commanders of these vessels should be instructed to visit occasionally the principal ports in Barbary, and this constant appearance of civilized flags, this repeated show of naval power, will have the best effect in subduing the hatred, and keeping down the power of Mussulmen in Barbary.

It is, however, much to be lamented, that the armies in Europe now disbanded, their swords and shields thrown by, resting in inglorious ease, should not be directed towards this fruitful and enviable part of the world—should not be permitted to redeem that soil from barbarity and despotism—should not aid in restoring order, civilization and prosperity. It is evident that the conquest of any of these kingdoms could be achieved without any great sacrifice, if expeditions are properly organized, and conducted on the scale of extensive operations; and I have never had a doubt, but that this power and conquest could be easily retained when once made. Fears have been expressed that the ties of interest and religion would unite to induce a consolidation of all the powers, in case one was attacked; but even admitting this, yet once in possession of their maritime towns, of their forts and batteries, what resistance can they make to civilized, disciplined, and experienced soldiers? They would yield to their destiny, and if treated with mildness and confidence, would, in a short time, relinquish all hopes of opposition. The Moors have not in many years attempted to retake Ceuta from the Spaniards, and they have forgotten that it was once their property. The civilization of Africa, and a more faithful examination of that great and interesting quarter of the globe, could receive a successful impulse, if any of the Barbary States was in possession of a Christian power. Then its riches, the character of the people, the produce of the

soil, and its great natural advantages, could be safely and satisfactorily ascertained ; then its vast population could be bent and moulded to softer forms ; and religion, with its mild and persuasive doctrines, would ameliorate the condition, expand the mind, soften the heart, and strengthen the intellect of the unfortunate Ethiopian.

Russia can do much in aid of civilization ; with adequate resources, governed by an enterprising and justly admired sovereign, having no possessions in the Mediterranean, and certainly preferring a claim for services in Europe which cannot be disputed ; it is reserved for that power to take the lead in such efforts as will tend to strengthen her character, advance her interest, and benefit humanity. Russia should have possessions on or near the coast of Barbary ; and Spain, France and Italy, would then find a friend capable of checking the effects of commercial rivalry, when exhibited by any European power ; and a view of the produce and trade of Barbary should satisfy Europe, that it merits their immediate attention. If Russia possessed the kingdom of Tunis, or had even a few islands for naval or commercial depots, the balance of power in the Mediterranean would soon be felt.

We have done much—nay, done wonders in that quarter for an infant nation, and it must gratify the pride of every American to learn the estimation in which his country is held ; but that monarch who shall rebuild Carthage, Julia Cæsaria, or any of those once flourishing cities in the Pentapolis—who shall review his legions of civilized troops on the field of Zama or the suburbs of Mendracium—who shall revive those schools of science and the arts, and raise once more those churches which existed in the time of St. Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius—that man who shall rebuild, adorn, and embellish, the cities of Syphax, Jugurtha, or Massanissa—who shall fight and defeat the turban'd Turk on the spot where Hannibal struggled and Scipio conquered—who shall erect legislative halls on the site of Utica—that man will have acquired a just and lasting claim to the admiration of the world, and will be ever and unanimously termed *immortal*.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The following letters were written, and transmitted to me, prior to my leaving Tunis, by the public functionaries in that kingdom. Although they served to accompany the passports which were necessary for me to have, in passing through Europe, on my return home; still, I can consider them in no other light, than private communications. I have no permission, nor can I possibly obtain it, from those gentlemen, to give these letters to the world. The consuls, however, were acquainted with every public measure of mine, of any importance; and my domestic character was not unknown to them. It is to their benevolence I now appeal for forgiveness, in presuming to take the freedom I do with their names.

Copy of a letter from Richard Oglander, esquire, his Britannic Majesty's agent and consul general, near the Bey and Regency of Tunis, dated, "September 19, 1815.

"MY DEAR SIR—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the letter with which you honored me this morning, for the purpose of acquainting me with your intended departure from this place, with the first convenient opportunity.

"I flatter myself you will be persuaded this intelligence to me, as I doubt not it will be to the rest of your colleagues and friends here, is most unwelcome, and occasions me very sincere regret; for no one, I assure you, my dear sir, can entertain a more lively sense, or true esteem, for your many valuable and amiable qualities, than I do.—However, at the same time that I must be allowed, in common with the rest of your friends, to express my regret at your approaching departure, inasmuch as it will occasion us the loss of an honorable and estimable colleague; yet I cannot but congratulate you, on your being about to quit this miserable country, the embroils of its court, &c.

"I beg you will accept my most cordial good wishes for your prosperity and happiness, and for a safe and pleasant return to your native country; and that you will believe me to remain, with the highest esteem and regard,

My dear sir, your most faithful,
And obedient servant,

(Signed)

RICHARD OGLANDER.

"With regard to the passport which you desire, if you will do me the favor to send me a draft of such a one as you think will be useful to you, I will take care to have it prepared for you without loss of time.

"To Major NOAH,

Consul General of the United States of America.

Translation of a note from the Chevalier Devoise, Consul General and Charge de Affairs for France, dated, "Tunis, September 19, 1815.

"MY DEAR MR. NOAH—Never have I delivered a passport more against my inclination than the one which I have the honor herewith to enclose; because it announces that you are going to leave us, when I had promised myself to spend many agreeable moments in your society. Scarce has our acquaintance commenced when you depart and leave me nothing but regret. Nevertheless I must wish you a good voyage, and all the happiness you merit. Permit me to add the expression of my attachment, and most distinguished consideration.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed)

DEVOISE."

Translation of a note from Don Arnoldo Soler, Consul General of his Catholic Majesty in Tunis.

"MY DEAR SIR—Enclosed I remit you the passport you desire. Although the opportunity enables me to demonstrate my disposition to comply with your request, it is, nevertheless, painful to be separated from a colleague and friend so estimable as yourself.

"Until I have the satisfaction to reiterate, in person, the sentiments of my sincere esteem, I pray God to preserve you many years.

(Signed)

ARNOLDO SOLER.

"Tunis, September 20, 1815.

To Major NOAH,

Consul General of the United States."

Translation of a letter from the Chevalier de Martino, Consul General of His Majesty the King of the two Sicilies.

"Tunis, September 20, 1815.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I have been extremely surprised to hear by your letter that you were determined to leave Tunis. The only circumstance of my intending to do the same in a few days, makes

we feel less unhappy by the absence of a friend, a colleague, and so agreeable a neighbor. Your stay in this place, although short, was sufficient to give the highest opinion of your talents, and penetration in the exercise of your office. Be assured we all appreciate your merits. Your government certainly ought to listen to the voice of justice, and I do not doubt but that my expectations will be accomplished. I wish you a prosperous voyage, and hope to see you in my country, where I shall be able to give you proofs of my friendship and gratitude. Adieu, my dear friend ; remember me always, and rest assured that I shall be forever your sincere friend.

(Signed)

RENATO DE MARTINO.

“ Mr. NOAH, Consul of the United States.”

Copy of a letter from Andrew C. Gierhew, Esquire, His Danish Majesty's Consul General.

“ Tunis, September 19, 1815.

“ Need I tell you, my highly esteemed friend, how sincerely I am afflicted at your departure ? My good Mr. Martino, too, will leave me soon, and then I shall be alone, quite alone, in this unhappy country. But I cannot otherwise than highly approve of your firm, manly, and honorable conduct, after what has passed. I always esteemed your character ; and it is, and will be a consolation to me, in this dreary place, where honor, virtue, and character, are the most shocking vices a mortal can possess, to have gained such a friend, I hope for life, and wherever we shall live, as you my most valued Mr. Noah. Be then as happy, my most sincerely esteemed and regretted friend, as you certainly deserve, and as I wish you from all my heart ; and let us meet soon again in a less unhappy country, where virtue, honor, and manly open character, are no vices. We shall always meet as friends, and we will dare to say that we lived and acted like men of honor. Remember me as I always shall remember you. Be a friend of my friends, as I shall always be of yours, if they resemble you. Be a friend of my country, as I always was of yours. I send you the passport you require. It is an honor for me to give it to you.

Your sincerely devoted friend,

(Signed)

GIERLIEW.

“ M. M. NOAH, Esq. Consul of the United States.”

Extract of a letter from Richard B. Jones, Esq. Consul of the United States at Tripoli, dated,

“ July 31, 1815.

“ I shall always consider it my duty to communicate frequently and freely, my sentiments, my opinions, and conduct, to the representatives of our country, whenever an occasion presents ; but that duty becomes a pleasure, in addressing you, sir, who have displayed a zeal and firmness, unequalled, in defence of our rights ; reasoned wisely, and acted courageously ; and who has beguiled many of my tedious moments in Tripoli, by your friendly and invaluable correspondence.

"Be assured that in me you will always find a person disposed to go every length to serve my country, and countrymen; and if we can, by our mutual efforts, serve the common cause, we shall not only have effected the object of our mission, but enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of having performed our duty *when we stood alone.*"

No. II.

The following, are the Declarations of the ransomed Captives, taken according to law :—

"On the 24th of May, 1814, before me, Cosmo Burlini, vice-consul for the United States of America, at this port of Algeziras, personally appeared William Turner, and did swear and depose as follows :— That he is a citizen of the United States of America; that he belongs to Salem, in the state of Massachusetts; that he was, and is, an indented apprentice to Captain George C. Smith; that he embarked with him in the month of March, 1812, on board the Brig Edwin, of Salem, for a voyage to Gibraltar and Malta, in the Mediterranean sea; that, in the month of August, after being out six days from the island of Malta, on return to the United States, on or about the 26th of the same month, was pursued and captured by an Algerine cruizer, and conveyed for the port of Algiers, where he arrived on or about the first of September, where he continued as a prisoner, subject to the known cruelty of the government of that place, until, by the generous interposition of his countrymen, he was ransomed and brought to this port.

"In testimony whereof, the deponent has hereunto subscribed his name. Thus sworn and deposed at Algeziras, before me, Cosmo Burlini, vice-consul for the United States of America; which I attest under my hand and accustomed seal of office, the day, month, and year before written.

(Signed)

WILLIAM TURNER.

Before me,

(Signed)

COSMO BURLINI."

"*American Consulate, Algeziras. May 24, 1814.*

"I, Cosmo Burlini, vice-consul for the United States of America, at this port, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and faithful copy of the original affidavit of William Turner, extracted from my consular register, and carefully compared therewith.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and [SEAL,] affixed my accustomed seal of office.

(Signed)

COSMO BURLINI."

"On this 24th May, 1814, before me, Cosmo Burlini, vice consul for the United States of America, at the port of Algeziras, personally appeared John Clark, and did swear and depose as follows: That he is a citizen of the United States of America; that he belongs to

New-York, which port he left in the month of March, 1810, in the schooner *Flier*, on a voyage to Leghorn, at which port said schooner being sold, he shipped on board the American schooner *Dolphin*, Skinner, master, for Tunis, from whence he was sent by the American consul, at that port, for the island of Malta, where he arrived on or about the 18th June, 1812; that he then shipped on board the American Brig *Edwin*, George C. Smith, master, for the United States; that, after being out about six days from the island of Malta, on or about the 26th August, was pursued and captured by an Algerine cruiser, and conveyed to the port of Algiers, where he arrived on or about the first day of September, where he continued as a prisoner, subject to the known cruelty of the government of that place, until by the generous interposition of his countrymen, he was ransomed and brought to this port.

"In testimony whereof, the deponent has hereunto subscribed his name. Thus sworn and deposed before me, Cosmo Burlini, vice consul for the United States of America, which I attest under my hand and accustomed seal of office, the day, month, and year before written.

(Signed)

JOHN CLARK, his x mark.

Before me,

(Signed)

COSMO BURLINI."

American Consulate, Algeziras, May 24, 1814.

"I, Cosmo Burlini, vice consul for the United States of America, at this port, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and faithful copy of the original affidavit of John Clark, extracted from my consular register, and carefully compared therewith.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, [SEAL] and affixed my accustomed seal of office.

(Signed)

COSMO BURLINI."

*"United States' Consulate Office,
Cadiz, June, 1, 1814.*

"This day, before me, Richard S. Hackley, consul of the United States of America, for the city of Cadiz, and the ports of its district, personally appeared Francis Nicholas, Jean Baptiste, Francis Revon, and Andre Mackinash, all of whom being first by me duly sworn, according to law, did depose and declare as follows, viz:— That they are *native citizens of the United States*, being born in New-Orleans: that they sailed from the aforesaid port in the ship *Cæsar*, captain Allison, in the year 1806, bound for Bordeaux; that on their arrival at the aforesaid port, they were taken out of the vessel, by orders of the French government, and sent on board the French frigate *Dromedary*; and which frigate was captured near Malta, by the British frigate *Eurayles*; that they were sent as prisoners to Malta; and afterwards placed on board the English frigate *Franchise*, on board of which they remained nine months, most of the time in irons, and were punished several times for attempting to

escape ; that they were landed in April, 1814, from the Franchise frigate at Algeirs, the commander of said frigate intending to leave them in that city, the deponents being unwilling either to remain or serve on board said frigate, during the continuance of the war ; and that, previous to their being recognized by the officers of the Algerine government, as Americans, they were delivered over by the English consul, to Don Raynel Keene, and were by him instantly embarked on board of a xebeque, and were landed near Malaga ; and from thence were conducted by the said Don Raynal Keene to this port, with a view of being returned to their country.

(Signed)

FRANCIS NICHOLAS, his x mark,
JEAN BAPTISTE, his x mark,
FRANCIS REVON, his x mark,
ANDRE MACKINASH, his x mark,

“ Sworn and subscribed before me,

(Signed)

RICHARD S. HACKLEY.”

American Consulate Office.

“ I, Richard S. Hackley, consul for the United States of America, at Cadiz, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original taken from my register.

“ In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal of office, in Cadiz, this fifteenth day of June, A. D. 1814, and
[SEAL.] of the independence of the United States the thirty-eighth.

(Signed)

RICHARD S. HACKLEY.”

No. III.

Objections were made to the premium paid for the loans in Spain, which I obtained at 15 per cent. loss, the following certificate will shew that I was under the current price.

“ We the subscribers, resident merchants in this city, and citizens of the United States of America, do certify, that, in our opinion, the fair and equitable exchange for bills of undoubted signatures, on any one of the ports of the United States, if offered for negociation, could not be done at a less loss than *twenty per cent.*

“ Given under our hands, at Cadiz, this 11th day of June, 1814.

(Signed)

R. W. MEADE.
HALL & RUSSELL,
JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD,
J. C. WARDROP.”

Consulate of the United States at Cadiz.

“ I do certify, that the annexed subscribers are citizens of the United States, and resident merchants at Cadiz.

“ Given under my hand and seal of office, this eleventh day of
[SEAL.] June, 1814, and in the 38th year of American independence.

(Signed)

RICHARD S. HACKLEY.”

No. IV.

I have already stated that all my documents relative to the negotiation for the release of these seamen, were laid before Congress.—The Government in adopting them, and spreading them before the nation, confirmed the right to appoint an agent, and after they had availed themselves of the services of this agent, predicated a declaration of war upon his information, availed themselves of my services, and terminated the war gloriously, they protested my bills—recalled me on account of my religion—denied the right of appointing an agent—and censured me for appointing an obnoxious character, as they termed him. The following is the account of the proceedings of Congress on that subject:—

Extract from the National Intelligencer of March 7, 1815.

ALGERINE WAR.

It is probable that many of our readers may not bear in mind the facts on which the recent declaration of war against Algiers has been predicated, we have therefore obtained for their information the Report made on the subject by Mr. Gaston of the House of Representatives, chairman of the committee to whom the bill was recommitted in *secret sitting*. The Documents accompanying the report, which are too long and perhaps not proper for present publication, *are so conclusive* as to leave no doubt on the mind of any one who hears or reads them, of the impossibility of reestablishing peace with the Dey of Algiers, unless by coercion, except under the most base and humiliating conditions. Our readers may judge of the inveterate hostility of that Barbarian tyrant towards us, growing merely out of the most sordid cupidity, and natural ferocity and cruelty of temper, by two or three facts collected from a momentary glance at the Documents accompanying the Report of the Committee. A person was intrusted, as from the American merchants in Spain, with the task of endeavoring to procure the liberation of eleven or twelve of our citizens captives of Algiers, for whom he was authorised to give a ransom not exceeding \$3000 per man; to every attempt of the kind the Dey replied, 'That not for two millions of dollars would he sell his American slaves.' In reply to an application in the most confidential manner to one of the Dey's Ministers, to know the terms which the Dey expected to extort from the United States in the event of a Treaty with them, it appears, "that in the first place, for the privilege of passing the streights, or, as is commonly called, the Gut of Gibraltar, two millions of dollars would be required of the American Government, and that then the stipulations of the late treaty might be renewed, the United States first paying up all the arrearages accruing under the said treaty, not only to the time of Col. Lear's dismissal, but also such as could be estimated to accrue throughout the interval from that dismissal to the period of renewal."

THE REPORT.

The Committee to whom has been referred the bill for the protection of the commerce of the United States against the Algerine cruisers, with instructions to enquire and report *in detail, the facts* upon which the measure contemplated by the bill is predicated, Report.

The Committee, after relating the circumstance of the dismissal of the Consul General, and capture of the Brig Edwin and crew, proceed, "The Government justly solicitous to redeem these unfortunate captives, caused an agent, *whose connection with the Government was not disclosed, to be sent to Algiers with the means and with instructions to effect their ransom, if it could be done at a price not exceeding 3000 dollars per man.* The effort did not succeed BECAUSE of the Deys avowed policy to encrease the number of his American slaves in order to be able to *compel a renewal of the treaty* with the United States, on terms *suited to his rapacity.*" The Committee are all of opinion, upon the evidence WHICH HAS BEEN LAID BEFORE THEM, that the Dey of Algiers considers his treaty with the United States at an end, and *is waging war against them.* The evidence upon which this opinion is founded, and from which are extracted the *facts* above stated, accompany this Report, and with it is respectfully submitted.

Extract from a Report of the Secretary of State, Mr. Monroe, to Congress, dated Feb. 20, 1815, relative to Algiers.

"The acts of violence and outrage have been followed by the capture of at least one American vessel, and by the seizure of an American on board of a neutral vessel. The unfortunate persons thus captured are yet held in captivity, with the exception of *two of them, who have been ransomed.* EVERY EFFORT* to obtain the release of the others, has proved abortive, and there is some reason to believe that they are held by the Dey as means to extort from the United States a degrading treaty,"

No. V.

That I may not be charged with suppressing any opinion of the Government, relative to my affairs, I subjoin the Report of the Attorney General, which I accompany by such notes, as may serve to illustrate this legal opinion. It will not escape observation, that the Attorney General, who is the mere law officer of the nation, appointed to be consulted on questions wholly legal, appears now in a new character; that of accountant of the Department of State, and in being called upon to construe instructions, issuing from that Department,

* No efforts were made except by the agent I appointed under my instructions, and whose appointment is here officially recognised by the Government.

a very strong inference may be drawn, that the Secretary of State, in issuing those instructions, did not know what he meant himself. However, it was necessary that some blame should be attached to me, some censure for indiscretion, not criminality, they could not venture so far, and the law officer was called in to promote such views.

OPINION.

On the case of Mr. Noah, stated to me by the Secretary of State, in his letter of the 22d of this month, the following questions arise and are submitted for consideration :—

1. Whether the power given to Mr. Noah for the ransom of our prisoners at Algiers, under his instructions from the Department of State, of the 13th of April, 1813, justified the employment of an Agent under him ; or, if any, such an Agent as he employed, and in the manner stated.

2. If such a power was given, could it be considered as justifying Mr. Noah in the payment of the full limit of three thousand dollars for each man, without any experiment being made to obtain their release for a less sum.

3. Whether the sum charged for the two men belonging to the crew of the brig Edwin, can be considered a fair charge ; (a) and if it be, whether that for the four men, not of the Edwin's crew, can be so considered.

4. Whether the pledge to Mr. Butler, for the payment of certain bills of exchange, can inure to Mr. Lewis, under the whole circumstances of the case.

For the better understanding of the above questions, it will be proper to bring into view the material facts of the case, whether presented to me in the letter of the Secretary of State, or collected from the papers and exhibits, written and printed, transmitted in further explanation of that letter.

When Mr. Noah was about to leave the United States as Consul for Tunis, he received, among other instructions, the following from the Department of State :

"On your way to Tunis, perhaps at Malaga or Marseilles, you may probably devise means for the liberation of our unfortunate captives at Algiers, whose situation has justly excited much sympathy in the people of this country. Should you find a suitable channel, therefore, through which you can negotiate their immediate release, you are authorised to go as far as three thousand dollars a man, but a less sum may probably effect the object. Whatever may be the result of the attempt, you will, for obvious reasons, not let it be un-

(a) If the reader refers to the preceding page, he will observe that *two years before* this opinion was required, the Secretary of State informed Congress officially that these two seamen had been ransomed, yet he now desires the Attorney General to say whether the charge was "*a fair one* !"

derstood as proceeding from this Government, but rather from the friends of the parties themselves. As yet, we have information only of eleven persons, the crew of the brig Edwin, of Salem, being confined at Algiers, and it is to be hoped that no addition has since been made to the number. If success should attend your efforts, you will draw upon this Department for the necessary funds for paying their ransom and providing for their comfortable return to their country and friends ! !”

On the arrival of Mr. Noah at Cadiz in the autumn of 1813, he thought proper to select Richard R. Keene, a native of Maryland, but claiming at that time to be a Spanish subject, as an agent to negotiate the liberation of the captives in question. Before any final agreement, however, with him, Mr. Noah addressed a note to Mr. Hackley, Consul of the United States at Cadiz, dated October 2, 1813. In this note he states that he is authorised by the United States to negotiate for the release of these prisoners. After touching upon other matters connected with the chief subject, he expresses a wish for Mr. Hackley's advice in the designation of a suitable agent, and on the compensation proper to be allowed him. Mr. Hackley answers the note on the following day. He states, that having learned that Mr. Keene had proposed to him to undertake a voyage to Algiers, to effect the contemplated release, he does not hesitate, after a tribute to his character and abilities, to recommend him as a person every way qualified for the attempt. In regard to compensation, Mr. Hackley also states the amount to which he thinks Mr. Keene would be entitled. On the receipt of this letter, Mr Noah determines upon the employment of Mr. Keene, and, on the 13th of November, 1813, enters into a contract with him. It is stated in this contract that Mr. Noah is vested by his government with competent authority for the step he is taking. The compensation to be paid Mr. Keene is one thousand dollars in advance, and nothing further if the enterprise failed. If it succeeded, he was to be allowed an additional sum of three thousand dollars, and a contingent remuneration to arise out of “any surplus that there might be above the prices to be paid for said captives, out of an allowance at the rate of three thousand dollars for each man.”

On the 5th of November, preceding the date of the contract, Mr. Keene had furnished himself, in furtherance of the object of the mission, with a dispatch from the Spanish Government, addressed to the Spanish Consul General at Algiers. This instrument, after reciting that the Government of Spain was desirous of giving new proofs to the United States of the protection dispensed to their commerce, as well as to the individuals employed in it, enjoins it upon the Consul General to make all possible exertions, without compromising their responsibility, to obtain the liberation of twelve American citizens who were captives at Algiers, and in case any present, of unusual gratification, was found necessary, he was directed to give advice of the same for the ultimate determination of the Regency, by whose order the despatch was stated to be communicated.

On the 12th of November he obtained also from the British Ambassador in Spain, Sir Henry Wellesley, a letter addressed to the British vice consul at Algiers. In this letter Mr. Keene's object is represented to be humane in its character, and growing out of the instigation of American merchants residing at Cadiz. As such he is recommended to the assistance and protection of the British vice-consul.

So prepared, and receiving a letter of instructions from Mr. Noah, dated Gibraltar, January 20, 1814, Mr. Keene proceeded for Algiers. It is not necessary to state all that took place there, as described in his letter to Mr. Noah, written from Algeziras, May the 22d, 1814. On his first arrival he was reported as the bearer of despatches from the Spanish Regency to their consul. He then opened his negotiation on the asserted instigation of the American merchants at Cadiz. In the end he obtained the release of two of the crew of the *Edwin*, viz : William Turner and John Clarke, for each of whom he claimed an allowance of three thousand dollars. He effected, also, the liberation of four other individuals, not of the crew of the *Edwin*, but who all swore that they were born in New-Orleans. These men were not, in fact, in actual slavery. They had been landed at Algiers, in April, 1814, from on board the British frigate *Franchise*. The account which they gave of themselves was, that they sailed from New Orleans in 1806, bound to Bordeaux. That on their arrival at the latter place they were, by orders from the French government, sent on board the French frigate *Dromedary*. That this frigate was captured near Malta by the British frigate *Eurayles*. That they were sent as prisoners to Malta, and afterwards sent on board the *Franchise*, from which they were landed at Algiers as aforesaid. For these four men Mr. Keene paid six thousand dollars.

To meet the expenses thus incurred, and others growing out of the operation, such as the compensation of Mr. Keene, losses of exchange, and other incidental charges, Mr. Noah drew bills on the Department of State for 18,743 dollars, in favor of Mr. Butler, a merchant at Gibraltar. These bills were protested upon the ground that Mr. Noah had not acted in conformity with his instructions. It afterwards appearing from the representations of our consul at Gibraltar, that at the time of drawing, Mr. Noah had shown his instructions to Mr. Butler, who had negotiated his bills upon the faith of them, and likewise that it was important to our naval operations in the Mediterranean that the credit of the United States should be sustained in that quarter, it was thought proper to *accept* the bills. After acceptance, but before payment, information was received that part of a sum of money which had fallen into Mr. Noah's hands at Tunis, had been pledged by him to Mr. Butler for payment of the bills in case they were not paid here. On receiving this information, the Department declined making the payment at first intended. The bills were then returned to Mr. Noah, who paid them at Tunis out of the money stated above to be in his hands. This money was placed in his hands by Commodore Decatur. - It had been wrested by the

latter from the Bey of Tunis in payment of certain English prizes, belonging to Winslow Lewis, of Boston, and sent into Tunis by the privateer Abaelino, Captain Weyer. Captain Weyer, being at Tunis, constituted Mr. Noah, by letter of Jan. 16, 1815, agent for such prizes as he should send into that port. It was in the capacity of agent for the above privateer, that Commodore Decatur paid over the money to Mr. Noah.

On learning the above facts, Mr. Lewis addressed a claim to the Department of State, alleging that he ought to be paid the amount of the bills, to satisfy which, his funds, in the hands of Mr. Noah, had been thus appropriated, and which had **ONCE ACTUALLY BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT.** At first it was intimated to Mr. Lewis, that there *seemed to be* much reason in his claim. (b) But doubts on the propriety of satisfying it afterwards arose, on becoming acquainted with the private capacity in which Mr. Noah had received the funds, and the whole concomitant circumstances.

On *mature consideration* of the foregoing facts, I proceed to offer such opinions as I have formed on the questions stated in the beginning.

1. In order to a just comprehension of the first question, the general nature of Mr. Noah's instructions must be adverted to. It is conceived that they are to be viewed as merely subordinate to the principal objects of his appointment. A distinct, independent mission for the release of the captives, does not appear, at that time at least, and in the person of Mr. Noah, to have been in contemplation. About to depart as Consul for Tunis, this duty was devolved upon him as incidental to his primary and permanent movement. The execution of it is made to depend, by every just implication, upon fit concurring circumstances. There is nothing positive (c) in the character of the obligation created in him to fulfil it—a limited door merely being opened for discretion to do its sound office. As little did it fall within their scope to impart any costliness to the attempt, and least of all to invest it with any circumstances of publicity. Still I think that, taken as an abstract question, *the employment of an agent may have been justified under his power.* (d) On a favorable

(b) Quite the contrary; the government expressed no doubt on the subject. Mr. Monroe, although I brought proofs that I had paid the money in Tunis, still told Lewis that when Butler acknowledged the receipt of the money, it should be paid to him. In a few months Mr. Butler acknowledged its receipt, when, instead of Lewis getting his funds, the Attorney General was applied to on the subject.

(c) Certainly there is nothing *positive* in the instructions. The Secretary could not well say you *shall* release these men, but he requires of me to make "efforts" to effect their ransom, and to "negotiate for their release;" this has an appearance of a distinct duty engrafted on my other duties, as consul for Tunis, whatever the Attorney General may think on the subject.

(d) Here the report should end, not one word more was necessary. If, as the Attorney General says, the employment of an agent may have been justified under my powers, then it unquestionably follows, that this agent must be paid, and all the expenses growing out of his mission, under my *admitted* authority. It is true that no child could

aspect of events inviting him to go forward in the object, the instrumentality of some third person at Algiers, selected under the expressed cautions and implied restraints held out, may have become indispensable to its accomplishment.

I am quite as clear in the opinion, that the true meaning of the instruction was lost sight of by the employment of Mr. Keene, and in the manner stated.

I perceive, in the first place, no authority for the amount stipulated and paid as his compensation. Three thousand dollars was the maximum to be allowed for each man. This sum, with the expenses incident to the comfortable return of the captives if released, are the only disbursements for which I am able to discover any warrant in the instructions. If it be objected, that, on the hypothesis of an agent *rightfully employed*, (e) some compensation would reasonably be due for his services, I would reply that Mr. Noah's contract with Mr. Keene, has, in one part of it, furnished the answer. A contingent reward is held out to him of moneys to be saved from the three thousand dollars allotted as the highest price for each redeemed captive. I can see no authority to have placed the reward upon any other than this footing. The Department, in fixing three thousand dollars as the utmost sum, must have designed that it should comprehend every expense necessary to cover the release. I am drawn to this conclusion in the absence of any express authority to incur the cost of a separate agency, and am the less disposed to infer such an authority constructively, since the instructions terminate with an engagement to defray the charges of a passage home, leaving out of view every other object. The words "necessary fund for paying their ransom" in the last sentence, must be restricted to the three thousand dollars. A good reason may be imagined for placing the reward upon this contingent ground. The self-interest of the agent would thereby have coupled itself with his efforts to effect the redemption at low rates. If, through any extraordinary exertions and hazards, resulting in benefits of proportionate magnitude, a claim had been founded to other and better compensation, this, indeed, might well, in the end, have been addressed to *the liberal and kind justice*

misconstrue my instructions, yet, as a legal opinion was required, here it is. Mr. Rush, whether intentionally or accidentally, admits my right to appoint an agent, although he subsequently, as a matter of course, qualifies it; then if I take advice as I did, in the appointment of this Agent, I am not to be answerable for any wrong that he does, though in this case, I have as yet seen nothing wrong that he has done. Has not the government made bad appointments sometimes? And have they personally been ever called upon to suffer from the exercise of their admitted rights? However, the point is settled, the Attorney General expresses no doubt on my right of appointing an agent, and thus falls to the ground the original cause of protesting my bills.

(e) "*Rightfully employed?*" Why, a minute ago the Attorney General admitted that the employment of an agent was justifiable, therefore he must have been "*rightfully employed.*" A good memory is indispensable to prevent the clashings of opinions in cases of *high importance* like the present.

of the American Government! But, for Mr. Noah to pay Mr. Keene an independent sum, and in the first instance, appears to me an act in which he was not justified. (f)

If, however, any doubts should be felt upon this point, there can scarcely be room for any under other views of this employment of this agent. It presents features obviously thwarting the spirit and scope of the instructions in points vitally interwoven with their execution. The steps taken would seem to indicate on the minds of both principal and agent, the impression of an independent and prominent mission. Instead of any attempts entered upon at Malaga or Marseilles, which, in the first instance, it might have been natural to expect, both these places are passed by. (g) Nor does it appear that an effort was made to use the intervention of any individual resident at Algiers, especially some person in a capacity wholly private—a measure also to have been looked for, both as it might have reduced the expense of the enterprise, and interposed additional shields against the discovery of the government as party to it. But grant that the force of such suggestions may be overruled, and that Cadiz was the fit place whence to give the operations its first impulse, yet how shall we reconcile the conduct that followed with the rule marked down in the instructions? To say no more of them, it must be admitted, that to exclude the suspicion of governmental agency is stamped as a leading and positive characteristic. Thus warned, Mr. Noah, in his letter to Mr. Hackley, sets out with distinctly affirming, that the United States had invested him with authority. This, although the latter was a Consul, does not appear to have been necessary. (h) The same fact is again proclaimed upon the face of a formal contract with Mr. Keene. But yielding to all that might be urged in defence of these disclosures, there seems nothing left to excuse the nature of the voyage to Algiers. (i) It is clothed with something of the livery of an embassy itself. Instead of secrecy and silence, eclat rather marks

(f) If I had a right to employ Keene, and the Attorney General concedes the right, then it follows that I had the power to advance him money for his expenses in the "first instance." What officer can undertake a foreign mission of any kind, without a reasonable advance?

(g) I am sorry to be under the necessity of treating this opinion with levity, but I cannot avoid it, when I hear the Attorney General, in his efforts to find fault on a subject not coming within the purview of his duties, talking of "passing by Marseilles" to reach Algiers. He should have had a map of the Mediterranean before him when he wrote this opinion.

(h) It was necessary to consult Mr. Hackley; he was at that period the only commissioned officer in Spain, and a person high in the confidence of the government; he was familiar with our affairs at Algiers, and in the receipt of several letters from our captives. By what singular construction of right and propriety is one officer prohibited from consulting with his colleagues on a foreign station? It needs no great stretch of imagination to believe that had I not consulted Mr. Hackley, the Attorney General would have censured me on that head.

(i) Nothing can excuse the voyage to Algiers, says Mr. Rush, and yet he admits that I was authorised to appoint an agent to negotiate for the release of American captives in Algiers. How was this to be done without a visit to Algiers?

its movements. A despatch was obtained from the Spanish Government bearing indications, (too plain to be misunderstood,) that it was possessed of the real ground upon which Mr. Noah stood. Another official paper was sought at the hands of the British Ambassador, as a further passport to Mr. Keene, and all this known to Mr. Noah. What will every well-judging mind say to such facts? Undoubtedly that they tended to make known the very authority that ought to have been hidden. The despatch from the Spanish Regency might also be construed as indicative of a favor, supposed to be accorded to the United States. Now, taking this to be one of the meanings of which it is susceptible, it is possible that it might not have been within the intentions of our own Government, in relation to such an enterprise, to invite a favor. Moreover, the letter of Sir Henry Wellesley is asked and accepted, when America and England stood in the attitude of belligerents. (j) Passing over animadversions that hence occur, such measures were just such as were adapted to strip off the veil which Mr. Noah should have sedulously worn. It is against all sound anticipations to suppose that they did not at once lay his genuine case bare. Secrets are prone to escape through much smaller openings. It is true, that in his note to Mr. Hackley, and in his letter of instructions to Mr. Keene, he adverts to the necessity of keeping his Government out of sight. In the Spanish despatch there is also an outward allusion to the same necessity. (k) But these thin concealments need not be the subject of remark, when opposed by the more intelligible and positive indications which pointed to another conclusion; by the open machinery with which foreign Governments and functionaries were made to interpose in advancement of the undertaking. Considering that Mr. Keene was provided both with the Spanish despatch and the letter from the English Ambassador before the middle of November, and that he did not embark until February, there is no violence done to credulity in supposing that the knowledge of his true objects and authority preceded his own arrival at Algiers. This, and it is no very strained presumption, might serve in part to account for the extravagance which, in the first instance, characterized the Dey's demands. (l) When we look at the actual state of our relations with Spain, as well as England, at that

(j) I never sought these despatches, or was known to have any agency in obtaining them; they arose from the personal acquaintance between Mr. Keene, and these public functionaries. But suppose that during the war with Great Britain, Sir Henry Wellesley, by commiserating the fate of these unfortunate captives, should feel disposed to aid in obtaining their release, should his humane interference be despised, because the two countries stood in the attitude of belligerents?

(k) If it be true that I kept the Government out of sight, then no blame is to be attached to me.

(l) To put an end at once to these fastidious conjectures of Mr. Rush in supposing that the Algerines knew Keene's mission, I have only to observe, that if the Dey had remotely suspected his business, he would have buried him alive as a spy. Any person who is acquainted with their policy, would draw the same conclusions. Hence an additional claim to consideration is offered on the part of Mr. Keene.

epoch, it can scarcely be going too far to conjecture that neither their policy, nor their friendship, could have been deeply offended at such demands.

Should such reasoning be thought in anywise defective, in relation to making known the United States as at the bottom of the proceeding, another fact presents itself of force not to be resisted. It is not to be denied, that the affair was ushered in at Algiers as one to which some Government had lent its instrumentality. Mr. Keene, in his letter of the 22d of May, 1814, states, that, on his arrival, the public barge came along side of their vessel, and that he was reported as charged with despatches from the Spanish Government. He states further, that he conducted the negotiation in the name of the Regency. Now, this appears to me to stand in like hostility to the instructions. The participation, even in a formal or mere exterior way, of any Government whatever, could never have been contemplated by the department of State. The course of reasoning that would ascribe advantages to such a plan is not to be easily sustained. It is supposed, on the contrary, that it must have been productive of obstacles; and, at all events, it is taken to be against the clearly expressed intention of the instructions, which were to place the whole interference upon a footing private and unostentatious. (m)

In answer, then, specifically, to the first question, I am of opinion that the power given to Mr. Noah *might have justified the employment of an Agent*; but that it does not justify such an agent as he employed in the manner stated.

2. If such authority was given, could it be considered as justifying Mr. Noah in the payment of the full limit of three thousand dollars, without an experiment being made to obtain the release for a less sum?

This question I am disposed to answer in the affirmative. If an agent be authorised to pay a fixed sum, I do not see that he absolutely violates his authority by paying the whole at once, although a hope may have been entertained, and an intimation thrown out, that the end might probably have been accomplished for less. It may well be an objection against the discreet exercise of the authority. A mind prudent and skilful would be slow thus to act. But I do not feel prepared to say that it would be a positive breach. Circumstances may be conceived, leading to a rational belief beforehand, that the smaller sum would not be accepted, which may the more serve to excuse the ceremony of the offer. I do not say that precisely such circumstances existed in the present instance. None are perceived, unless Mr. Noah rested upon the letter of Mr. Hackley. If he yielded his own judgment to that of another, still Mr. Hackley's letter to him does not import an unequivocal opinion upon this point. If it did, he fell into an error. It is a fact too strong to escape attention under this head, that each of the six men brought off were actually

(m) If Mr. Keene was indiscreet in giving a formal character to this mission, he was not authorised by my instructions to him. My letter on that subject will shew that I took the necessary precautions.

obtained for a less sum than three thousand dollars. Upon the whole, however, my opinion is, that looking liberally at the peculiar words of Mr. Noah's power, it was not violated by going to the full limit, without the trial of previous experiment.

3. The third question divides itself into two branches. First, as respects the two men belonging to the crew of the Edwin. Secondly, as respects the four landed from the English frigate.

In regard to the two former, I think that the charge must be considered fair. Whilst the employment of Mr. Keene may not have been justified, (n) there are acts in which Mr. Noah may nevertheless be warranted by the intrinsic virtue of his instructions. This I take to be such an act. These two men were, indeed, released through the mediation of the British vice-consul, and delivered up as British subjects. This fact appears from the letter of Mr. Keene. Other evidence is also before me from the Department of State, superinducing strong suspicions that they were not Americans. It is at least of weight to impair the effect of their own affidavits. This will be agreed, when it is stated to be a letter from the captain of the Edwin himself, in which he explicitly disclaims them as Americans. Still they were of the crew of the Edwin. Those who composed this crew are mentioned in the instructions as captives to be released. Mr. Noah may not have thought himself at liberty to make discriminations between them, or to institute or permit inquiries as to their citizenship. *For him, the language of the instructions was sufficient to close the door against other investigation.* (o) Mr. Keene has here a peculiar shield in the emphatic words of his Spanish despatch.

But different is the case of the four men alledged to be Louisianians. I can discover no authority for allowing the charge on their account. There is not a trace of evidence, beyond their oaths (p) that they were citizens of the United States. To swear in this way they had the strongest temptations of personal safety, if we take Mr. Keene's representation, and there is no other upon the subject. For although he states that they were not held in slavery, he adds, that there was every reason to suppose they would be. Aside from this powerful objection on the score of interest, all rational presumptions contradict their assertions. It is, to the last degree, probable that

(n) Surely Mr. Rush could never have read the preceding part of this report; he involves himself in the most palpable and absurd contradictions discreditable to his character and talents, he concedes my right of appointing an agent, and yet says that the appointment of Mr. Keene "may not have been justified" and for this opinion he gives us no reason.

(o) That is a just remark, and invalidates all the preceding objections; Mr. Rush says true, "for me, the language of the instructions was sufficient."

(p) What further proof could be required or obtained, than the oath of these four persons that they were Americans, they proclaimed themselves as such, although captivity stared them in the face, and when in a cause of humanity, we should construe the laws on the same side.

they were Frenchmen. They had, by their own accounts, not been in the United States for eight years. They were put on board a French frigate in 1806, by orders from the French Government.—The smattering which they had of the English tongue may well enough have grown up during their subsequent imprisonment on board of English vessels. In their own affidavits they do not go the length of saying that they were put on shore from the British frigate as Americans. If, according to their own oaths, they were even all born in New-Orleans, it *must* have been before that place became one of the cities of the United States. (q) They may, then, nevertheless, from choice or accident, have remained French subjects. But to wave such a suggestion, the fact of their being genuine American citizens was alike unsupported by plausibility and by proof. How it should have gained credit in the mind of a person about to perform an important trust upon the faith of it, seems strange. Mr Noah, in his own letter to the Secretary of State, of May the 31st, 1816, seems to give in to the statement of the captain of the British frigate having been induced to land them from finding them “unwilling to work,” and being in other respects useless. In the light of troublesome and expensive incumbrances, it is also as probable that the British vice-consul handed them over so promptly to Mr. Keene. It is difficult to banish the suspicion of a design at imposition, when men, under such circumstances, were received and ransomed as citizens of the United States, and though Mr. Noah may not be implicated, it can never, I think, meet the sanction of the Government. I am very clearly of opinion that no part of the charge for them should be allowed. It is enough that the public money has been expended upon the doubtful (r) citizenship of Turner and Clark.

4. Upon the fourth and last question, although coupling itself with the general case, *I have felt more hesitation than upon any of the points preceding.**

The conclusion to which I have come is, that the pledge to Mr. Butler to pay the bills, cannot, under all the circumstances, operate to the benefit of Mr. Lewis. The refusal by the Department to accept them, in the first instance, was, as I suppose, completely justified. (s) The subsequent acceptance was not from seeing the instructions, or the conduct under them, in any different or more advantageous lights, but for reasons extrinsic and new. It was from the provident

(q) They left New-Orleans in 1806, it had then been three years under our jurisdiction. Nothing but mere *suspicion* that they were Frenchmen, is opposed to the solemn oaths of these seamen.

(r) We just now learnt that the two men were fair subjects for a charge—the scene is altered, they are now “doubtful citizens.”

* This is the only *legal* question to be answered, and the only one which an independent officer would have replied to, and on this appropriate question the Attorney General feels some hesitation.

(s) Mr. Rush supposes that the original protests of my bills, was “completely justified,” he is singular in his hypothesis, the government knew to the contrary.

and paramount motive of keeping the credit of the nation in the Mediterranean firm. Before payment, this object was met by Mr. Noah, who had agreed to appropriate, in discharge of the bills, certain funds lodged in his hands. This removed the only ground which had impelled the United States to make the assumption. The motive being at an end, the assumption becomes so too. It was not made to Mr. Lewis but to Mr. Butler. Between the United States and Mr. Lewis there was no privity. That the assumption passed to him on the mere footing of his money having been *unwarrantably*[†] used, *I do not feel prepared to say!!* It had been deposited with Mr. Noah as the prize agent of Mr. Lewis. This appears from the official letter of Commodore Decatur to the Secretary of the Navy, dated July 31st, 1815, from the Bey of Tunis. It is true that, by an act of Congress, our Consuls on the Barbary coast are not to engage in trade with those States. But I do not say that the restriction operated to prevent Mr. Noah's acceptance of the prize agency.— He did accept it, being at the same time Consul, and in the former capacity received Mr. Lewis' funds. He paid them away without authority, and of his responsibility I presume there can be no doubt. This, then, is the true legal remedy open to Mr. Lewis.

But Mr. Lewis stands in the attitude of an individual to whom an injury has been done. If, therefore, his recourse to Mr. Noah should not prove efficacious, and the United States in consideration of his money having been applied to meet a *public object, which† they were themselves about to meet*, should think fit to recognise a creditor so meritorious, it *may* be done through the medium of Congress. I feel unwilling to give an opinion under which his reimbursement might take place by any power short of this.

(Signed)

RICHARD RUSH. A. G.

Washington, December 30, 1816.

I certify that the foregoing is a true copy of an opinion of the Attorney General of the United States, the original whereof is on file in the Department of State.

S. PLEASANTON.

Department of State, Jan. 14, 1817.

Having now concluded the report of the Attorney General, which contains all the censure originally contemplated by the Government, for nothing is more sure than his adherence to their private orders and wishes, what does it amount to? Divest it of its many contradic-

† I used Mr. Lewis's money to preserve the credit of the United States. Mr. Lewis applies to the government to restore to him the sum they were about paying Butler for the same purpose, when the Attorney General says there was no compact between you and the government, although we freely acknowledge that your money was used by Mr. Noah, for the public service, to keep up the public credit; yet, you must look to him or to Congress!

† I paid Lewis's money just now "unwarrantably," but here we are told it was to "meet a public object."

tions and its strained construction of my orders, it merely declares that such a person as Mr. Keene should not have been appointed; although it admits that I had a right to appoint somebody; but Mr. Rush has not told us why or wherefore Mr. Keene should not have been appointed. I have heard him painted in dark colours since my return, but I was a stranger to him and his measures. I had neither seen him previous to his journey to Algiers, nor since. He writes like a man of talents. His mission was manifestly of benefit to the country, and if his subsequent conduct has been improper, am I to blame? Then the \$6000 for the four New-Orleans men should not have been paid, says Mr. Rush. Is the doubt which may be created on the propriety of paying this sum to justify the protest of my bills, the ruin of my credit, and the revocation of my appointment? Could not this sum be paid and charged to my account, to be adjusted by subsequent explanations? Then all that I have done to merit this ignoble treatment, is legally decided to be; a mistaken confidence reposed, with due caution, in a person, and under competent authority, and the admission of the payment of a few thousand dollars, on which some doubts may have been created, and for which my bondsmen and myself were responsible. I am willing to abide the censure, premising, that with the same instructions, and under the same circumstances, I should justify any officer pursuing the same course, and should myself adopt the same measures again.

I have only a few observations more to make in this place. It has been stated by Mr. Rush, as a governing principle, that whenever a doubt is on his mind, in the examination of a legal question, he always decides in favor of the Treasury. I hold this opinion, if it has been expressed, to be decidedly unjust. The Attorney General is as much the officer of the people, as he is of the Government; and the law, which establishes his office, merely provides, that the heads of Department may consult him on legal points; but the framers of the law, ever contemplated that he was to be called in to settle the accounts of an officer on a foreign station, or to construe instructions issuing from one of the Departments; his duties refer to replies on questions strictly legal. On matters of fact, it is to be presumed, that the respective Departments are capable of deciding, and the reply of an Attorney General, should be impartially just, neither favoring the Government at the expense of the people, nor a citizen at the cost of the Government. If we can for a moment presume, that the duties of this office, are to be bent to such purposes, there is no protection for the citizen; the Government, for causes best known to itself, may call in the Attorney General to throw obstacles in the liquidation of any account they may think fit to select, and although it is our duty to believe that our Government is just, we cannot avoid reflecting that it is composed of men subject to frailties and prejudices. What will a reasonable man believe, when he reads the foregoing grave and sage opinion, upon such a plain case. If he believes that the Department of State, was incapable of construing its own instructions, then he casts a severe reflection on its judgment. If he thinks the Attorney General was called

in as an auxiliary, to assist by the quibbles of legal construction, to injure a citizen, then he pays a poor compliment to their integrity. At all events, it is evident, that the duties of an Attorney General, are confined to a narrow sphere, if a reference is had to the original object in the establishment of his office, and if he is to be reckoned out of this sphere, at the specific nod of the Departments, and to answer purposes, not virtually and substantially legal, then the rights of the citizens are wholly abandoned to the control of Government, and nothing is more dangerous to the preservation of our national character, and should be more promptly discountenanced. But I may be asked, why publish these documents? Why this anxiety to clear up circumstances, which originally were not the objects of suspicion or distrust, and which may have created some conversation, but never a serious ground for censure? I answer this by saying, that the protest of my bills, and the revocation of my appointment, was known generally in the Mediterranean, and among many thousands of my coreligionaries in Europe, who have been anxiously waiting to discover some proof of the confidence of Government, which not having been manifested, has created an opinion unfavorable to myself, and produced an impression, that the Government had cause to pursue the measures they did. I seek to show them, that they had no cause, and that an act of singular injustice, discreditable in all its branches to our country, has been done; and then to satisfy them that this is not the act of the people, but a mere assumption of authority on the part of the officers of Government. I have been for eighteen months a tranquil reader of all the charges and insinuations, respecting my affairs, in the journals of political opponents, and I find it necessary to check these unjust suspicions. Individuals in power, may if they please, injure a citizen and drive him unjustly from office, but it is his own fault if they disgrace him. To show what injurious suspicions may grow out of silence in this case, and what ridiculous misrepresentations may occur, I subjoin a few remarks from a paper printed in the state of New-York. The writer addresses himself to me as follows:—

From the Norwich Journal of September 20.

“In vain will you attempt to screen yourself by being silent, or by asserting that Clintonians have leagued with Federalists—unless you answer satisfactorily the questions which I ask, you will be considered as guilty, and treated accordingly—as an *Embezzler of Public Money*.

“*Did you not, whilst at Tunis, make use of TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS of which you could not, or would not, give any account?*

“*Were you not threatened with a prosecution?* and did you not write a pamphlet, and put it into the hands of a certain *great* man at Washington, and at the same time tell him, that if you were prosecuted for the money, it should be published?

“Was not the pamphlet returned, and suppressed, and you suffered to escape with impunity?”

“ Now if the foregoing questions are answered in the affirmative, and taking into consideration your behaviour since your arrival, is there not good reason for believing that you were *sent* here, to aid a few of the “choice spirits,” in checking the rising influence of this state? You will see, sir, that I have not made my accusations without *good ground for their support*. Ask yourself, whether you would not chuckle, and laugh at my folly, were I to place any confidence in your writings.”

This is only one of the few errors, arising from a concealment of these facts, I wished to prevent the Government from being injured by giving publicity to them, and have been thus injured myself. In a short time after the meeting of Congress, my concerns were introduced in the following manner:—

Resolution offered in Congress by Mr. Talmadge, of New-York.

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be directed to communicate to this House a copy of the account of M. M. Noah, late Consul of the United States at Tunis, and a copy of any instructions given to him by the Department of State, respecting the ransom of prisoners at Algiers, and any information in his Department relative to the application, by M. M. Noah, of any moneys in his hands as said Consul.

House of Representatives, Tuesday, Dec. 10, 1817.

The Committee of Claims to whom was referred the Report of the Secretary of State in the case of Winslow and Henry Lewis,

REPORT,

That on the 14th of February last, the petition of the aforesaid persons was, with the accompanying documents, referred to the Secretary of State: that in compliance with the said Resolutions, the Secretary has submitted to the House the following, which the Committee beg leave to adopt as a part of their Report.

“ The Secretary of State, to whom by a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 14th of January last, was referred the claim of Winslow and Henry Lewis, has the honor of submitting thereon the following Report:—

“ That in the year 1815, the sum of \$21,613 06, the property of the petitioners, was deposited in the hands of M. M. Noah, Consul of the United States at Tunis. The money had been paid by the Bey of Tunis under an agreement with Commodore Decatur to indemnify the petitioners for the loss of two prizes captured during the war with Great Britain, and which having been carried into that port, had been by his directions delivered up to the British Government. The money thus deposited was appropriated by Mr. Noah to another object—namely, to pay certain Bills of Exchange drawn by him for the ransom of prisoners at Algiers, *represented* by him to

have been authorised* by the Department of State, and for which he had previously drawn Bills upon the Department, which had been protested, *but for which afterwards provisions was determined to be made*, and the payment of which was superceded by this application of the funds of the petitioners to that object.

“How far the conduct of Mr. Noah in the transaction connected with the drawing of these bills was warranted by the instructions and authority he had received, it were superfluous now to inquire. That the money belonging to the petitioners deposited in the chancery of the Consulate was applied to other purposes, for which the Government of the United States has deemed itself responsible, and *the object of which was the redemption of citizens of these States from Algerine captivity* is CERTAIN. The Secretary of State therefore respectfully Reports it as his opinion that the claim of the petitioners is just, and entitled to the favorable consideration of the Legislature, whose sanction is essential for its admission to settlement at the Treasury.

(Signed)

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.”

AN ACT,

For the relief of Winslow and Henry Lewis.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the proper accounting officers of the Treasury Department, be and they are hereby authorised and directed to settle, in such a manner as may be just and reasonable, the claim of Winslow and Henry Lewis for moneys deposited in the hands of M. M. Noah, late Consul of the United States at Tunis, and which may have been applied, by the said M. M. Noah, for the payment of certain Bills of Exchange drawn by said Noah on the Department of State, for the purpose of ransoming AMERICAN PRISONERS AT ALGIERS. *Provided,* That the sum to be allowed shall not exceed sixteen thousand three hundred and ninety-six dollars and forty-nine cents.

H. CLAY,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN GAILLARD,

President of the Senate Protempore.

January 22d, 1818—Approved.

JAMES MONROE.

Now how stands my account? My account current originally presented to Government was \$23,974 82. The Department of State cuts off the Agency at Algiers, and passes \$5216 58, and suspends \$1664 for vouchers. Congress allows without a dissenting voice, \$16,396 49, and this together makes \$23,277. How far

* Had Mr. Adams referred to my authority in his department, he would have found that my representations were correct, he should have said my authority was unquestionable.

was this from my original claim? Wherefore this revocation of appointment? This injury to the character and rights of a citizen, and the credit of the Union? Let them answer.

No. VI.

Religion. That the subject of religion should ever have commanded the *official* notice of the Government of the United States cannot fail to create the greatest surprise, when a reference is had to the Constitution of the United States, and equally so to the enlightened state of the times. In the war for Independence the Jews were unanimous in their zealous co-operation, and we find them holding a high rank in the army, and fighting for liberty with a gallantry worthy of the descendants of Joshua, David and Maccabees. After the adoption of the Constitution we see them on the bench as judges, in the legislatures as members, and assisting the government in gloomy periods, to regulate and strengthen the financial system. In all the relations of life as fathers, husbands and citizens, I persuade myself that they yield to no sect, and they have ever been distinguished for their liberal sentiments towards every denomination of christians. In the late war we find many Jews in the ranks as soldiers and holding commissions. We hear of them wounded severely in the battles at the north, and gallantly supporting their country in the south. Surely it is not too much to expect that under all these circumstances, the officers of government will conform to the wishes of the people, and treat them with a delicacy becoming freemen. It is not, however to satisfy the Israelites in this country that I notice this subject; they are capable of defending their own rights, but it is done to prove to the Jews in Europe, who have great commercial connexions with the United States, and are capable of serving or injuring us, that this act of intolerance of which I have had so much reason to complain, is not the act of the people, is not warranted or approved by them, but it is the simple mandate of the Executive officer or the Secretary of State, acting either under an imaginary right, or gratifying a prejudice which I reluctantly believe has had some small influence in dictating the measure.

I herewith subjoin copies of letters addressed from the three Presidents of the United States to me, in acknowledgement of an historical Discourse respecting the Jews. These letters will be read with interest as evincing the opinion of men worthy of having weight in the civilized world. I have nothing to offer from Mr. Monroe, but I wish to do him more justice than he has done me, by expressing it as my belief that his sentiments concur with his illustrious predecessors, although his letter to me at Tunis would seem to hold forth a different opinion.

*Copy of a letter from Thomas Jefferson, Esq. dated,
Monticello, May 28th, 1818.*

SIR,—I thank you for the Discourse on the consecration of the Synagogue in your city, with which you have been pleased to favor me. I have read it with pleasure and instruction, having learnt from it some valuable facts in Jewish history which I did not know before. Your sect, by its sufferings, has furnished a remarkable proof of the universal spirit of religious intolerance inherent in every sect, disclaimed by all while feeble, and practised by all when in power. Our laws have applied the only antidote to this vice, protecting our religious, as they do our civil rights, by putting all on an equal footing. But more remains to be done; for although we are free by the law, we are not so in practice; public opinion erects itself into an Inquisition, and exercises its office with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an *Auto de fe*. The prejudice still scowling on your section of our religion, although the elder one, cannot be unselt by yourselves; it is to be hoped that individual dispositions will at length mould themselves to the model of the law, and consider the moral basis on which all our religions rest, as the rallying point which unites them in a common interest; while the peculiar dogmas branching from it, are the exclusive concern of the respective sects embracing them, and no rightful subject of notice to any other; public opinion, needs reformation on that point, which would have the further happy effect, of doing away the hypocritical maxim of "*intus et lubet, foris ut moris.*" Nothing, I think, would be so likely to effect this, as to your sect particularly, as the more careful attention to education, which you recommend, and which, placing its members on the equal and commanding benches of science, will exhibit them as equal objects of respect and favor. I salute you with great respect and esteem.

(Signed)

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

M. M. NOAH, Esq.

*Copy of a letter from James Madison, Esq. on the same subject,
dated,*

Montpelier, May 15, 1818.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 6th, with the eloquent discourse delivered at the consecration of the Synagogue. Having ever regarded the freedom of religious opinions and worship as equally belonging to every sect, and the secure enjoyment of it as the best human provision for bringing all, either into the same way of thinking, or into that mutual charity which is the only proper substitute, I observe with pleasure the view you give of the spirit in which your sect partake of the common blessings afforded by our Government and laws.

As your foreign mission took place whilst I was in the administration, it cannot but be agreeable to me to learn, that your accounts have been closed in a manner so favorable to you. And I knew too well the justice and candor of the present executive to doubt that an official preservation, will be readily allowed to explanations necessary to

protect your character, against the effect of any impressions whenever ascertained to be erroneous. It was certain, that your religious profession was well known at the time you received your commission, and that in itself it could not be a motive in your recal.*

(Signed)

JAMES MADISON.

*Copy of a letter from John Adams, Esq. dated,
Quincy, July 31, 1818.*

SIR,—Accept my best thanks for your polite and obliging favour of the 24th, and especially for the Discourse inclosed. I know not when I have read a more libéral or a more elegant composition.

You have not extended your ideas of the right of private judgment and the liberty of conscience, both in religion and philosophy, farther than I do. Mine are limited only by morals and propriety.

I have had occasion to be acquainted with several gentlemen of your nation, and to transact business with some of them, whom I found to be men of as liberal minds, as much honor, probity, generosity and good breeding, as any I have known in any sect of religion or philosophy.

I wish your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every country of the world. This country has done much. I wish it may do more; and annul every narrow idea in religion, government, and commerce. Let the wits joke; the philosophers sneer! What then? It has pleased the Providence of the "first cause," the universal cause, that Abraham should give religion, not only to Hebrews, but to Christians and Mahometans, the greatest part of the modern civilized world.

(Signed)

JOHN ADAMS.

No. VII.

I publish the following letter with the utmost reluctance. It was addressed by the Bey of Tunis, Hamouda Pacha, to a Consul of the United States, who remained there many years, and was treated by our government with deference and confidence. I have great satisfaction in adding that he was no Jew, and much regret to say that he was a *native American*. Had the Bey written me such a letter, I should then have believed that it was time to recal me on account of my religion.

"SIR—The English consul has represented to his excellency, the Bey, that you had entered his house, and had, in his presence, *violently beaten an English subject*. You are well aware, sir, that you, nor no other person, has a right to act in that manner; and it was the intention of his excellency to have sent a mameluke, and have brought you before him; but as the English consul says he will *pardon* you, his excellency has countermanded the order.

* Vide Mr. Monroe's letter, delivered to me by Commodore Decature; the *motive* is there predicated on religion.

“I am ordered by his excellency to tell you, that if you attempt to beat any person, either in your own house, or in the square ; or to commit any such *blackguard acts*, *he will tie you, neck and heels, and send you on board of a ship to your own country*. If any person has wronged you, complaint is to be made to his excellency. It is not for you to do justice ; and his excellency says, such conduct does no honor to you nor your government.

(Signed)

MARIANO STINCA.

“To the American Consul.”

BLACK SEA.

I have been long impressed with the importance and necessity of opening a commercial intercourse with the Black Sea, and for that purpose of having an understanding with the Ottoman Porte.—When I was in Tunis, an Ambassador from the Grand Seigneur arrived there for the purpose of making some representations relative to Austrian vessels. When at leisure I called to pay my respects to him. He could not, for a length of time, discover to what nation I belonged ; and he asked if our territories were near Muscovy. After some explanations, he said, I know now who you are—you belong to the new world. Conversing on the commerce of the Black Sea, he enquired why our government had not an agent at the Porte, and assured me that from our situation and perfect independence of European control, that our influence would be extensive. As to the commerce of the Black Sea, there was no reason why we should not have it as well as other nations, if we traded honestly. He asked many questions relative to our maritime force and commerce, and recommended that a minister should be appointed who would have no difficulty in obtaining valuable privileges.

Situated as we are at present, with a large portion of our tonnage unemployed, requiring at the same time active services for our seamen, it is unquestionably our policy to show the American flag in every quarter which may be visited by other nations, and with a laudible enterprise to push our commerce wherever it can be introduced. Upwards of 1500 vessels sail from the Black Sea annually.—The commerce of the ancients seems to be revived in that fertile quarter, and it is very humiliating to our spirit and enterprise to know that not one American vessel is to be seen amidst those of every other nation. I have been at some pains to collect information respecting the ports in that Sea, and particularly Odessa, and have received from Mr. Robert Stevens, jun. who is now in Europe, many interesting facts respecting that quarter of the world, besides referring to modern writers on the subject. I have collected information which I confidently believe will be read with interest ; and in reference to the commerce of that Sea, it will be observed, that what we claim, and can, unrivalled maintain, is a portion of the *carrying trade*, is employment for our tonnage and seamen, and there is no

doubt from the character of our vessels, and the enterprise of navigators, that in a short time the American flag would be the most influential in that quarter. I proceed now to give some account of the port of Odessa, being the most important, and rapidly increasing, in that fertile quarter of the world.

“Upwards of three hundred years have elapsed since the Turks became masters of the Black Sea, and until within a short period they have remained its exclusive possessors. Commerce, which formerly spread its benefits throughout these countries, was at that epoch driven from thence; continual wars, the most despotic of governments, and the licensed pillage committed by its officers, diminished population, and destroyed agriculture; nothing was seen on the northern shores of the Black Sea, but wandering Banditti! Peter the first determined to civilize his empire, and he called commerce to his assistance; he succeeded in his establishments in the Baltic, and wished to make similar ones in the Euxine Sea, but adverse occurrences prevented the fulfilment of his plans, and it was with difficulty that he could preserve Tangadrok in the Sea of Asoph.

It was reserved for Catharine the 2d, to realise these projects by conquest, and to Alexander, by his wisdom, his moderation, and his justice in governing, to place these provinces in their present flourishing and happy condition.

Previous to the conquest of these countries, which now comprise what is properly called New Russia, solitude and sterility reigned in these immense plains, now populous and fertile; and these extensive tracts, now abounding with productions of the first necessity, were then occupied by hordes of wandering Tartars, who were obliged to roam from place to place, in order to find occasional pillage wherewith to support themselves and horses.

The Treaty of Kainarjoy, 21st July, 1774, began this happy change; by a condition in this treaty, and the explicative convention in 1779, Russian ships were permitted freely to navigate the Black Sea, by passing the Dardanelles; Russia having no port to profit by this advantage, chose one on the Dnieper where she might establish commerce and a military marine, which she intended from henceforth to have in the Black Sea. In consequence of this arrangement, the town of Cherson was commenced in 1778, on the right bank of that river, at 17 leagues from its mouth. The Empress granted many privileges to this establishment, which attracted many strangers and a considerable commerce.

Its commercial relations beginning with Constantinople and the Archipelago, extended to Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, and other places. The articles of importation and exportation were the same as are now comprised in the commerce of Odessa.

The productions of the interior of the most part, descended by the Dnieper, and foreign vessels of easy draft ascended this river as far as Cherson. Those drawing more than 6 feet, however, were obliged to stop and discharge part of their cargoes at Glonbow, a vil-

lage 6 leagues below. From the month of October until March, this river is much obstructed by the ice, the breaking up of which is frequently dangerous, so that commerce could only be safely carried on seven months in the year. To these evils were added many others, particularly the insalubrity of the air at Cherson; owing to these circumstances it was proposed to make another choice, which at that period was impossible on account of the political state of the country. However, the commerce of Cherson daily increased.—The commercial treaty concluded between Russia and Turkey, on the 10th June, 1783, consolidated its success and prepared additional advantages; for it was hardly known that Austria had obtained the same favor from the Porte, as by the treaty of 24th February, 1784, Austrian ships were assimilated with those of Russia in the free navigation of the Black Sea. Commerce now took rapid strides, already more than 200 vessels were employed, Austrian and Russian, in the trade of Galatz, by the Danube, to Cherson, by the Dnieper and even of Caffa, now became the possession of Russia by the cession of the whole of the Crimea, which Kham, Chahim Gueray made in 1783, to the Empress with the approbation of the Porte.—But the war of 1787, between this latter power and the two Imperial Courts, paralysed this growing commerce.

Peace concluded between the Porte and Austria, 27th July, 1790, restored something of its incipient vigor, but it was not until after the conclusion of the war with Russia in 1792, that this restoration could be considered as permanent, and tending to that degree of prosperity it has at present attained. By this treaty of peace, Russia extended her frontiers from the Bog to the Dniester, the year following she acquired by the last partition of Poland, those provinces which are nearest the Black Sea. In this new state of affairs, the inconveniences of Cherson presented themselves with peculiar force, and the acquisition of so many fertile provinces in Poland, required a debouche for their productions more immediate than that of Cherson.

The Bay of a Tartarian village called Kidjabey was deemed eligible for these purposes.

This Bay is situated in Lat. 46, 35, north, Lon. 29, 2, east from Paris, between the Dnieper and the Dniester. All its possessions at this time, consisted of a small Tartar fort and a few miserable huts, but the Bay had from remote time always proved a secure haven to winter in for those vessels which navigated the Black Sea. This new establishment occupied the continual solicitude of the Empress in 1796, she gave it the name of Odessa, and conferred on it many privileges, which attracted a population and a flourishing trade.

From the death of the Empress in 1796, until the accession of Alexander, neither circumstances nor perhaps the views or means of government were favorable to the progress of Odessa, on the contrary, it was retrograding in importance. The treaty of Lunerville, giving peace to the continent, Alexander the first ascended the throne. Shortly after the existing differences between England and Russia

were terminated, and her commercial relations with France also re-established by the treaty of Amiens, which was shortly terminated. The beginning of the subsequent year, followed that of France, with the Porte, by which French vessels were assimilated with those of the most favored nations in Turkey, and obtained in consequence the liberty of a free navigation in the Black Sea.

Shortly afterwards the English, the Prussians, Neapolitans, Ragusans, Dutch, and the Republic of the seven Islands, obtained the same advantage.

This memorable epoch freed the Black Sea, in a great degree, from the dominion of the Turks; it became the common domain, and Odessa the centre of vast speculations. The Russian government occupying itself with success, and with a paternal solicitude, watched over their rising country, and encouraged its commercial prosperity by granting, particularly to Odessa, many important privileges, and in 1803, his Excellency the Duke of Richelieu was appointed Governor General, with extensive powers.

This year 900 vessels entered the Black Sea, 536 of which came to Odessa; these vessels were in ballast, many, however, brought various goods of Spain, France, Italy, and of the Levant.

Their return cargoes consisted entirely of wheat, which was at that time the only article demanded, and the only one which Odessa could then furnish, not having established her present commercial relations with the interior of the Empire. This wheat was furnished by the government of Podolia, Vohlinia, Kiow, and by that of Cherson; the three first transporting it by land, the latter by boats which descended the Dnieper and delivered their cargoes in the roads of Odessa.

A fortunate aspect of affairs increased the population considerably, and in 1803, it exceeded 8000 souls, but the city was not more than modelled; it was composed of a few houses, badly built, and incommensurable, hardly a good ware-house for the storage of merchandise, no public establishments, very imperfect quarantine regulations, and only a single wharf or mole, which feebly sheltered the ships from the south-east winds, which are frequently dangerous. Government enlightened in its views, came to the assistance of the city with a solicitude peculiarly paternal. Having already granted a revenue in allowing it the profits of farming the manufacture of brandy for its own consumption, as well as granting it the loan of its Custom-House revenues, new funds were assigned to it, in order to meet contingent expenses, and furthermore a certain sum was placed in the hands of a Committee of Administration to lend at an interest of six per cent. per annum to those of its inhabitants who would employ it in building. In consequence of this facility and the benefits of a growing commerce, the city became instantly improved, commodious dwellings and ware-houses were now erected, a Lazaretto and new mole were added, foundations of a Russian Cathedral and of a Catho-

lic Church were began, a Public Seminary of learning, an Hospital, a Theatre, and in general all those establishments and edifices, which, now completed, rank Odessa with other European cities.

The environs attracted at the same time the attention of the Administration, in establishing many colonies of Bulgarians, Hungarians, Slavonians, and Germans, who abandoning their own countries, found one in New Russia. Those who were Agriculturalists were distributed in the country, forming each their respective villages. In order to ameliorate the condition of these new comers, who were for the most part destitute of means, advances in cattle and instruments of husbandry, were made to the one class, and houses and work-shops were provided for the other. The value of these advances were to revert to government in twenty years, and to commence from the tenth year of the arrival of each inhabitant. War suddenly breaking out in 1803, between France and England, surprised the administration of Odessa, in the midst of its important labors, its zeal was, however, not discouraged, and its intelligence suggested with reason, that the navigation of neutrals, the interest and the necessities of Europe, would give a great activity to the commerce of this Mart. In 1804, this predication was realized; the wars in Italy, the troubles in Egypt, and along the coast of Barbary, the prohibition against the exportation of wheats from Hungary, had drained or shut up the granaries of Europe, it was only through Odessa, that her wants could be supplied, and this year 449 vessels loaded there with that article, which was paid for, half in merchandize, and half in ready money.

Exportations of wheat made in 1804 to Spain and other countries, having produced a medium profit of 80 per cent. larger, operations were entered into in 1805, during which year there arrived 643 vessels. In 1806 political circumstances becoming unfavorable to the navigation of neutrals, the commercial relations of this port, with the rest of Europe, experienced a depression; in effect this year only 279 vessels entered, but the commerce of the Levant, exempt from these obstacles, and by this new event, regaining what it lost by the political difficulties of the Ottoman Empire, gave new extension to its relations with Odessa, which having become the centre of a numerous population, offered a considerable opening for foreign merchandises, for those of the Levant in particular. Towards the close of this year commerce felt the rupture between Turkey and Russia, which broke out soon after into an open war, and suspended all its foreign relations, the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, by Russian troops, opened a new field of speculation, whilst in another manner the commerce of Odessa recovered from its momentary inaction, by the high prices obtained for its importations warehoused before and since the war, and from the low rates at which the productions of the country were procurable.

The treaty of Tilset causing an armistice between Russia and Turkey, by which means in Sept. 1807, many expeditions were entered into and shipments of wheat and other articles of importation.

The season particularly favored this new branch of commerce, during the three last months of this year navigation was as secure in this Sea as during the summer months; the amount of exportations and importations might be estimated at three millions of rubles.

War and the subsequent suspension of all commercial relations between the two countries, caused a mutual reciprocity of wants; Turkey, particularly, deprived of the tallow, butter, wheat, &c. which had been formerly furnished her by Moldavia and Wallachia, was in extreme want of these commodities; the wheat of the Morea could not arrive at Constantinople on account of the blockade of the Dardanelles. The commerce of Egypt was cut off. Anarchy reigned in Anatolia! These powerful causes, added to many others, reduced Constantinople, Smyrna, and other places of the Levant, to the necessity of depending, as its last resource, upon the Russian coasts of the Black Sea, for their supplies, thus was the year 1808 rendered a brilliant one for commerce to Odessa. This city alone received and dispatched this year 399 ships, which furnished her with articles of the Levant to the amount of six millions of rubles for consumption, and about ten millions entered for transit, it is computed that her exportations this year were nearly six millions in Russian produce such as wheat, tallow, butter, candles, caviar,* and various other articles hitherto unknown as exports.

The very circumstances which paralysed commerce elsewhere this year, acted upon Odessa in an inverse ratio, by opening a new branch of trade, the transit of cotton and other merchandise from Europe, by the Levant through it to Brodi, Vienna, &c. &c. and *vice versa*.

At this epoch could one of the primitive inhabitants of these countries, one of those Tartars, who twenty years before wandered in the deserts of Bessarabia, have been suddenly transported to this city, witnessing the public and private prosperity, the elegance and grandeur of surrounding objects, he could not but believe that he was viewing the works of enchantment.

The air of Odessa is sharp and wholesome, the streets wide and at right angles, all the houses are built of stone, and most of them from two to three stories, after the European taste.

The ware-houses are sufficient to contain, in the city alone, more than 300,000 schetverts of wheat; in addition to which, secure stone cellars are very common. The population at this time (1818) of Odessa is 40,000 souls; the births are after a ratio of two for every fifty, each year; the environs for 20 leagues, comprising from 35 to 40 villages, contain an additional population of 25 to 35,000, furnish the city with all its vegetables, fruits, and also many articles of commerce, such as butter, tallow, wool, and upwards of 100,000 schetverts of hard wheat, beans, potatoes, &c. The cultivation of the mulberry tree has attained to a perfection, which has already been productive to the proprietors. The attention paid to the wool trade has been so great that one of the establishments situated at 20 versts

* Caviar—Spawn or roes of sturgeons, made into cakes of an inch thick and about a hands breadth, salted, and dried in the sun.

from Odessa, has engaged to furnish in the course of two years, 3000 Merino rams, which the government are to distribute to various persons granting them facilities for the payment.

In the city, the public works, the Lazaretto, the Mole, &c. are finished, and for the last three years the seminary has been in operation, which besides its public course of lessons to day scholars, contains a particular branch for the instruction of 75 pensionaires. The study of the national and foreign languages, arts and sciences, history and the fine arts, comprise the plan of education.

For two years past there has been a provisional Theatre, performances were executed in the Russian, Polish, and German languages. A Theatre is now finished upon a fine plan.

Humanity required a Hospital, which has been completed a year since.

While useful attainments have been attended to, those of ornament have not been neglected. Trees have been planted in the streets and squares; side-walks for foot passengers have been constructed, and ground has been purchased by the government for the purpose of making a public garden and promenade.

COMMERCE OF ODESSA.

In ordinary times Odessa imports from Spain, her fine wines, such as malaga, alicante, sherry, &c. &c. some hundred pipes of common red wines. The wines of Oporto, and particularly of Madeira, are in great estimation, and meet ready sale in considerable quantities.

France furnishes her, through Marseilles, with wines of various qualities in casks and bottles, with red wines under the name of Bordeaux, in cases of 240 bottles, as also those of Lunel and Frontignac, and other sweet wines, though the latter are not wanted in such quantities as the dry wines. These wines find very considerable vent, and at advantageous prices, they are consumed all over New Russia, and Russian Poland, and many parcels find their way even to Moscow, where they come into competition with those despatched from Riga and St. Petersburg. It is easily foreseen that the Black Sea will shortly deprive the Baltic of that branch of its trade.

Salt provisions, liquors, fine oil, vinegar, mustard, chocolate, porcelaine, fine linen, snuff, cabinet wares, glass, silk stuffs, and generally those manufactured goods of fashionable use in France, find ready sales, *brandies are inadmissible*. Colonial articles wanted, are sugar, pepper, rum, indigo, &c.

Italy furnished Sicilian wines, Liquors, syrups, Lucca oil, lemon juice, oranges, lemons, cheese, particularly Parmesan, silk stuffs of Florence and Genoa.

LEVANT.

The importation of articles from the Levant is much greater in variety and quality than from all the other countries together ; Odessa receives from thence large quantities of red and white wines, ordinary and fine, all in pipes and barrels ; these most esteemed, and of the greatest consumption, are loaded in the Sea of Mamora, such as the wines called Alonski, and those of Rodosto. Those which come from the Archipelago, such as of Tenedos, Santerine, of Sera, the Muscat wine of Samos, those of Smyrna, of Cyprus, the Molvosic of Tino, and the wines of the other Islands in the Archipelago, are less in demand. The Levant furnishes, also, in great quantities, fine and common oils, lemon juice, bekmis, (a sort of grape,) dry fruits, such as figs, raisins, almonds, dates, also green and black olives, oranges and lemons, raw and spun silk, Smyrna cottons, white and red, in the raw and manufactured state, sponges, Moka coffee, tobacco, snuff, frankincense, myrrh, aloes gum, nutgalls, drugs and medicines, saffron, Bagdad shawls, Turkish manufactures, pearls, and an infinity of other articles.

ANATOLIA.

The northern parts of Anatolia have commercial relations also with Odessa, by Sinope, Karasoundar and Trebisonde, furnishes dry fruits, Figs and raisins of various kinds, nardek, the juice of the pomgranite of which brandy is made, dye-woods, and a red wood similar to mahogany of which furniture is made, also box wood. In 1808, cottons were sent from thence to Odessa.

These articles comprise the cargoes of five or six vessels, which annually carry on this trade. In consulting the geographical situation of this part of Anatolia, and the productions of its interior provinces, it is easy to perceive that in case its political situation should become more favorable to commerce, the commercial relations between these countries would assume more extended and important views. The port of Sinope might become more advantageous than Smyrna itself, which latter place now carries on this trade with the interior, by means of a long and expensive land carriage.

MOLDAVIA, WALACHIA, AND ROMELIA.

Moldavia and Walachia furnish, in large quantities, white and red wines, which arrive by land. Romelia supplies nearly five or six small vessels, which load at Zoopole, in the Gulf of Pheros, in the Black Sea.

When these provinces are tranquil, Odessa receives the oils of the Levant, which arrive by sea at Enos, in the Gulf of Saros, ascending the Maritza in small boats, as far as Adrianople, and from thence

are transported by land across Bulgaria, Walachia, and Bessarabia; considerable quantities of cottons came also from Salonica, arrive at Doubassar, upon the Dniester, at 150 *versts* distant, from whence they pass into the interior.

HUNGARY.

Hungary furnishes annually fine and common wines, though in small quantities, they come by land, or by the Danube, from Galatz.

GERMANY, DANUBE.

When political events shall one day submit the whole course of this superb river to European powers, Odessa will reap immense advantage.

The productions of all Germany, of all Italy, and of France, will from Ulm directly appear on her waters; the wines of *Tokay* and its environs descending the Teise, as far as the Danube, arriving at Odessa, will from thence be distributed throughout all Poland, New-Russia, and to these countries which now receive them under the heavy charges of land transportations. It will be perceived that if the continental commerce of Europe with Asia, should acquire all that unfolding of which it is susceptible, the Danube is the connecting communication which nature has given, and Odessa will then become the grand entrepot of these her various and bountiful productions,

Commerce having civilized the world, peopled deserts, and even made the immensity of oceans subservient to her calculations, will at no distant period, cause this river to flow in obedience to her purposes, which for the space of one hundred and eighty leagues, is now submissive to the Turk, whose barbarous policy seems to offer him as an easy conquest.

GERMANY.

Odessa is furnished by Germany with cloths and other manufactured stuffs, various articles of fashion. Hardware, jewellery, and other commodities which are purchased at the fairs of Leipsic, transported by land, passing through Brödi, and sometimes through Jassy, when Moldavia is occupied by the Russian armies.

Upon the reception of the merchandise imported, those of the Levant perform a quarantine longer or shorter, according to the nature of the commodities and their circumstances, after which they are put into the ware-house of the consignee, the retail dealers purchase for the town and its environs, and the merchants of the interior make

purchases of greater or less quantities, according to the demand, which they send by land to Moscow, the general centre of the commerce of the empire, or to other cities in the interior, where they are disposed of at the numerous fairs, and particularly that of Makariëw, the most famous in the district of the government of Nedje Gorad, where there is annual business of from 15 to 20 millions of rubles.

EXPORTS.

In the present situation in which Odessa finds herself, she can export generally all the productions of Russia, which are now shipped from the ports of the Baltic, and with more advantage to the east and south of Europe.

The articles of exports in great quantities are wheats, hard and soft, beans, peas, butter of Siberia, caviar, (the roes or spawn of sturgeon made into cakes, salted and dried in the sun) yellow and white tallow, candles, lines and twines, cordage, tarred and untarred, of all dimensions, iron in bars, red leather, gold thread from the fabricks of Moscow, peltry, sail cloth of every description, bagging, nails, hardware of Toulā, window glass, and other glass wares. The articles of export in lesser quantities, are starch, pitch, tar, hemp, flax, white and yellow wax, wax-lights, horse hair, raw and boiled glue, linsed oil, fish oil, merino and common wool, honey, potashes, rhubarb from China and Siberia, Russian soap, tobacco in leaves from the Ukraine and Pudolia, salted beef and pork, flax seed, hemp seed, juniper berries, matts, and a variety of other articles of minor importance. A great proportion of these articles are brought by land from different distances in the interior in waggons. The wheat from 15 to 1800 versts, descends the Dnieper in batteaux. The iron, butter of Siberia, and the *caviar* comes by water from Tanagerok.

TRANSIT AND PORT OF DEPOSIT.

Government well understanding the advantages of the situation of Odessa for commercial purposes by an Ukase of 5th May, 1804, permitted the importation of all foreign merchandises in transit, subject to certain regulations. The increase of this trade in 1808, dictated the adoption of farther facilities for its prosecution *ad interim*, when the arrival of the Imperial Ukase of 26th October, 1808, removed all difficulties, making the port free of all duties and taxes whatever. The goods in transit arriving at Odessa, perform a quarantine, after which, the merchant is permitted to take them to his own ware-house, and to despatch them according to his pleasure, under the watch of the Custom House. Merchandise declared in transit and free of all and every duty, such goods as are not prohibited,

may be sold for consumption, and those that are to be despatched into the interior, a simple declaration at the Custom House must be made, and the duty paid agreeable to the tariff.

A merchant of Odessa stating the advantages of the foreign trade, and that of the transit, of his port, writes, "We have here already most evident proof. In the year 1810, the American vessel, the *Calumet*, commanded by Capt. Holmes, under the direction of Charles Green, Esq. arrived at Odessa direct from Boston, for the purpose of exporting Russian produces, and certainly others would have arrived the same year, if the Ottoman Porte had not shut the entrance of the Black Sea to neutral powers on account of the war."

TRANSPORTATIONS.

Land carriage is much resorted to, and is found to be sure and not expensive; there are persons established in the city, who contract for these purposes, and are responsible for the safety of property confided to them, from Odessa to Moscow; the journey is from 85 to 40 days, according to the season; and the price of transportation from one and a half to three rubles the pood, (40 pounds) payable a part in advance, and the remainder when the goods are delivered."

From this view it will be readily conceived that the United States could avail themselves of all the benefits of this commerce, and would open a communication with the Porte, and obtain the necessary information.

No. VIII.

COMMERCE WITH TUNIS.

We have a favorable commercial treaty with this kingdom, and the duties are very trifling. Such are the advantages of the export trade, that even admitting we have no consumption for all the articles, yet it is in our power to obtain the carrying trade, by means of our light and fast sailing brigs and schooners, and can absorb a great portion of this trade now carried on by French, Genoese, Spanish, and Sicilian flags. Jackson, Macgill, Blaquiere, Tully and others, have written amply on the trade of Barbary, which, nevertheless, is not well known to our citizens, and I extract from these writers, whose remarks are confirmed by personal observations, to convey an idea of its importance.

Of the Weights, Measures, and Monies of Tunis, and the rates of Exchange.

The money current in Tunis, that is, the money *proper* of the country, is divided into burbins, aspers, caroobs, and piasters; there is also a gold piece called a mahboob.

12 burbins,	=	1 asper.
3 1-4 aspers,	=	1 caroob.
16 caroobs,	=	1 piaster.
11-2 piasters,	=	1 mahboob.

These are the current monies of the country, but in mercantile transactions, no other is known but the piaster and caroob.

The commerce of Tunis was, till very lately, confined to Marseilles and Leghorn, and very rarely, indeed, did money transactions take place with any other country. The par of exchange between Tunis and Marseilles, is fixed at thirty-three sous per piaster, and with Leghorn, at 200 piasters of Tunis for 100 *pieces of the rose*, or as it is called, of *eight rials of silver*.

But although France and Italy were the two countries which formerly engrossed the trade of Tunis, other countries begin now to share in the trade, and also have a par fixed for their different monies.

The par of the exchange between Malta and Tunis, has been fixed at twenty-four caroobs per scude of Malta; with Messina, at nine piasters and six caroobs the ounce; with Genoa, at forty-two soldi fuori banco for the piaster; with London, at fifteen piasters for the pound sterling; and with Smyrna, at fifteen caroobs for the piaster of Turkey.

Exchange operations, at present, are not very frequent, but the few which have been done in 1810, have been at the following rates:

London,	at	15 piasters.
Marseilles,	=	29 sous.
Leghorn,	=	350 piasters.
Malta,	=	24 caroobs.
Genoa,	=	37 soldi.
Trieste,	=	1 1-2 piasters per florin.
Messina,	=	8 piasters.
Smyrna,	=	14 caroobs.

Bills are drawn at fifty days after sight, unless particularly stipulated for.

Besides the coins of the country, those of several other nations are current in Tunis at various prices.

The Spanish *pillar* dollar, is at present current for three piasters and eight caroobs; dollars of Maria Theresa, are worth one caroob less; the Venetian zechin is at nine piasters, and doubloons at fifty-five piasters. These monies have also a par value fixed to them in the country, which it may not be improper to mention. The Spanish dollar is worth at par 3 1-4 piasters, when at that price the Bey

buys them up for his treasury, or to coin them into his own money ; that of Maria Theresa, three piasters and three caroobs ; the Tene-tion zechin, seven piasters and ten caroobs ; and the doubloons, fifty piasters.

The weights used in the state, are composed of ounces, rotoli, and cantars, or kintals.

$$\begin{aligned} 16 \text{ ounces,} &= 1 \text{ rotoli.} \\ 100 \text{ rotoli.} &= 1 \text{ cantar, or kintal.} \end{aligned}$$

In comparing these weights with those of other countries, it is found that five rotoli of Munis, give only three of Malta ; that eighty rotoli make one hundred and twelve pounds of Leghorn, one hundred of Marseilles, eighty-seven and one-half of England, and one hundred and ninety-six of Barcelona.

The long measure of Tunis is called the pike. There are no less than three different pikes, which are used for measuring different sorts of merchandise. The first pike, with which linen, &c. manufactured in the interior, is measured, is only nineteen and a half inches : that again which is used for manufactures in general, and called the Turkish pike, is of twenty-five inches : and the pike with which they buy cloth, is of twenty-seven inches, or three quarters of an English yard. Giving thus the measures of Tunis in inches, it will be unnecessary to compare them with those of other countries.

The corn measure of Tunis is divided into zahs, whebas, and caffis :—

$$\begin{aligned} 12 \text{ zahs,} &= 1 \text{ wheba.} \\ 16 \text{ whebas,} &= 1 \text{ caffis.} \end{aligned}$$

And it is said, that one wheba of good wheat will weigh fifty rotoli.

On a comparison of these measures with those of other countries, we find that one caffis makes 17-8 quarters of England—7 1-2 sacks of Leghorn—10 cantars of Marseilles—7 1-2 quarters or 10 1-2 faneghe of Spain—and 1 salm and 14 tumoli of Malta.

The oil measure is called a *metal*, and weighs thirty-two rotoli of the country.

On comparing the oil measure with those of other countries, it is found that 100 metals make 513 English gallons, and weigh nearly 34 lbs. English per metal : in Leghorn, that 2 metals make 1 barrel or 88 lbs ; in Merseilles, that 3 1-2 metals make 1 mezzanol ; in Barcelona, that 1 metal make 4 2-3 quartans ; and that in Malta, 100 metals make 93 caffis.

The metal is of different sizes in ail the part of Tunis where oil is loaded, but the foreign calculations are made in the metal of Tunis, to which the rest bear the following proportions : 100 metals of Biser-ta, make 110 of Tunis—100 of Monastera, 120 of Tunis—100 of Susa, 125 of Tunis—100 of Media or L'Africa, 130 of Tunis—100 of Sfax, 137 1-2 of Tunis—and 100 of Soliman, 140 of Tunis. The measure of Porto Farina and Tunis is the same.

The exports of the Regency of Tunis; of what they consist, and their extent.

The Regency of Tunis is rich in articles of export; but they are not of the greatest variety. They consist in grain of different kinds, oil of divers qualities, wool, hides, wax, soap, and several articles of less consideration.

GRAIN.

The wheat of Tunis is of an excellent quality, and is that which, in the Levant, is called albanian or hard grain. The grain is round and short, having a thin skin, and a fine gold colour.

Before the famine, which prevailed in 1804, the exportation of grain of all kinds was permitted from Tunis; since that period it has been prohibited. In a plentiful year, the state of Tunis is computed to produce 480,000 cassis of wheat; and were encouragement given to its cultivation, ten times that quantity might be produced.

The barley of Tunis is also good. The quantity which is produced through the state, is computed to equal, if not to exceed, that of wheat. Of beans, about 12,00 cassis are produced; and of Indian corn, about the half of that quantity.

Indian corn is merely sown as a second crop; and, therefore, it is more scanty in an abundant year than in one of scarcity. For the husbandman makes a second attempt only when the first has disappointed his hopes.

The exportation of grain is subject to a duty or gabel, which must be purchased from the Bey; but the price not being fixed, it varies according to his interest or caprice. This permission for exportation, is called a tiscare, or order of the prince; and all his orders bear the same name. During the reign of Hamuda Pacha, the price of a tiscare for any one article, which is the produce of the state, has been augmented; those for grain are so high, that seldom, indeed, will it prove advantageous for any private person to speculate in that article for a foreign market. The last granted for grain, were at the following prices, which it is expected will continue the same through this year:

Wheat, per cassis,	36	piasters.
Barley, do.	18	do.

OIL.

It is computed that, in a good year, the regency will produce one million metals of oil of olives. Every third year, a greater crop of olives is expected.

The oil of Tunis may be said to be of two qualities, in every part of the regency where it is made: One-fourth is fine eating oil, so little inferior to that of Tuscany, or Genoa, that it is often sold in those

countries as their own, and used as such by their inhabitants : three-fourths consist of oil calculated for the use of different manufactures of cloth, soaps, &c. But besides this difference in the quality of the oil of every part of the regency, there is also a difference not inconsiderable in the quantity of the oil, in each district. In judging of these oils, the connoisseurs pretend to distinguish by the smell, the different qualities, which they determine to be six ; yet they allow, that between the best and the worst, there is not a difference of more than fifteen per cent.

They arrange them in the following manner, viz :—

Solimon oil,	- - -	1st quality.
Tunis do.	- - -	1st do.
Media or L'Africa do.	- - -	2d do.
Porto Farino do,	- - -	2d do.
Susa do.	- - -	3d do.
Monastier do.	- - -	4th do.
Sfax do.	- - -	5th do.
Biserta do.	- - -	6th do.

The exportation of oil from Tunis, is also at the caprice of the Bey ; who fixes the price of the tiscare upon the probable demand which may be for the article. Last year, and at present, the price has been as high as two piasters and one-half per metal, of Tunis measure.

WOOL.

Wool is one of the most extensive articles of export from the regency. It is computed that France and Italy, in time of peace, export from Tunis annually, twenty thousand cantars of this article.

The wool of Tunis is of many different qualities ; one kind is said to be little inferior to the best of Spain ; and it is affirmed, that the French, who buy it in France, wash it, assort it, and send it back to the country as Spanish wool, to be used in the manufacture of caps. Some are more ordinary, and others very coarse. In this mixed state, the wool is shipped for Marseilles, where it is purchased for the manufactures of Languedoc, and it is there washed and assorted, according to its different qualities.

The wool of the different parts of the regency, is also of various kinds and qualities, even in the first instance. It is of more or less value, according to the part of the country from which it comes ; on account of the quantity of dust and sand which are mixed with it, to increase its weight, and which each district has its different manner of mixing. In one part, the shepherds have a very curious method of making the wool imbibe the sand. In dry weather, before sheep-shearing, they hunt their flocks upon the sand, until they are in a high state of perspiration ; the sand flying in clouds, mixes with the

wool, and adheres to it in consequence of the perspiration. This they repeat for several days, and sometimes a greater weight of sand is dried into the fleece, than the real weight of clean wool. The particles too, are so fine, that they penetrate into the pores of the wool, and cannot, without the greatest difficulty, be separated from it.—From this practice, the loss on washing is extremely great. It is said that the wool of the environs of the city of Tunis, loses on washing about forty per cent. ; that of Susa, from forty-five to fifty ; and that of Sfax, from fifty to fifty-five per cent.

The proper season for buying wool, is in the month of June, when the Arabs bring it to market. By buying from them, in small quantities, the price runs sometimes a little higher than by buying in large quantities from speculators ; yet, in the end, it will be found the cheapest method. For these speculators not only take out the wool of finer qualities, but also mix mire, sand and filth, with what they sell, to increase the weight.

The exportation of wool is not under any very rigid restriction. It belongs to a company, who farm the privilege from the Bey, and exact only a duty on that which is exported, of one piaster per cantar ; which rate is fixed by the prince. An immense quantity of the finest kind of wool, is consumed in the country, particularly about Jerbi ; where shawls are made to a very considerable amount, and of a beautiful texture, resembling the shawl of Cashmere, and worn by all persons of rank in the regency. At Jerbi, they also manufacture great quantities of cloaks, called *bernouses*, worn by rich and poor ; and blankets which are light and warm. The wool used in these manufactures, is of the finest quality, and is very little, if at all, inferior to the best of Spain.

HIDES.

Hides form an article of export from Tunis, of no small consideration. The war with Algiers, has done great injury to this branch of commerce, as the greatest proportion of the quantity exported, came from that part which is near the frontiers of both countries. At present, it is computed that not more than one hundred thousand hides are collected in a year.

Hides are farmed to a company, who have the sole privilege of sending them out of the country. Of this company, notice shall be taken when we consider the farms or monopolies which form part of the revenue of the state. The hides of Tunis are but small, and are collected throughout the country, by persons employed by the company. At Tunis they are salted for exportation. The price of hides is fixed by the company ; who also themselves export both to France and Italy, and now to Malta, the greater part of what they

collect. Eight ~~sifted~~ hides weigh about one English hundred weight. Those which come from the confines, are all dried, and all sold by weight, whereas the salted are sold by the hide.

WAX.

The bees' wax produced in the state, is of a very good quality ; and formerly was bought up for the Leghorn market. The quantity collected in one year, does not exceed two hundred and fifty cantars.

SOAP.

Soap is made in the regency of Tunis, to a considerable amount. The barilla of the country is extremely good, and though no quantity is made for exportation, there is still a sufficiency for any quantity of soap that may be required.

Dates, the fruit of the palm-tree, are brought from the interior, and are annually shipped for France, Italy, and Malta, to the amount of three thousand cantars.

Senna is another article which is brought from the interior of Africa to Tunis, to the extent of about five hundred cantars.

Madder roots are brought in very great quantities, from the interior, and from the confines of Tripoli, to this regency for a market. The quality of this root here, is much like that of Smyrna, but it looks fresher and cleaner, and is more reasonable in price.

The Coral fishery on the coast of Tunis, about the island of Tabarka, merits also to be mentioned. It is impossible to give any correct idea of this fishery, as the people are either too ignorant or too cunning to communicate full information respecting it. Taking an average of years, about one hundred and fifty boats are employed in it, each manned by ten persons. These fishermen are generally from Sicily, or from Naples ; and each boat pays a certain sum for the permission. What they fish, is either brought to Tunis, sold at Tabarka, or carried to Italy and France.

OIL OF ROSES.

The oil of roses, made at Tunis, is of an excellent quality. This would not merit a place among the exports of the country, but from its particularly fine quality, especially that of the white rose. The quantity is too small to form an article of trade. It is chiefly consumed in the country ; and although the oil of roses from the Levant, is abundant and much used, yet that of the *nisere* or white rose of Tunis, is so much esteemed, that where the former sells five piasters the medical, the latter will render from seventy to eighty piasters for the same quantity.

OSTRICH FEATHERS.

Ostrich feathers were formerly an article of exportation from Tunis to Leghorn. They are brought from the interior of Africa, by the caravans of Gdamsia.

ON THE IMPORTS OF TUNIS.

It has generally been observed by those who, from a long residence in Tunis, have the opportunity of knowing, that during these last twenty years, the general commerce of the state, both in exports and imports, has considerably increased. Exports have augmented one-third, particularly in oil, and imports have increased, it is said, at least one-fourth.

But although this increase may have taken place on the aggregate, when the country enjoys peace, health, and plenty; yet it would be extremely erroneous to affirm this of the commerce of some late years, or of the present period.

The states of Barbary have, from time immemorial, been supplied by France in the articles which they required. The vicinity of France rendered the intercourse more easy; and enabled the French both to study the taste, and with that versatility of character for which they are so remarkable, to accommodate themselves to all the manners and customs of the Moors.

CLOTH.

Cloth was one of the chief articles which the French brought over to Barbary. The state of Tunis alone furnished them with a good and profitable market for that article. In a propitious year, the consumption of cloth in Tunis, amounted to one hundred and fifty bales, every bale containing twelve pieces of about twenty-eight pikes each.

In the cloths sent to Tunis, the French studied the taste and fancy of the inhabitants, both in the quality of the goods, and in the colors. They also studied their own advantage, in forming the bales of such a size and value, that a buyer, who might otherwise have been induced to ask credit, was able to come forward with cash. Their example in this point ought to be carefully observed in making up articles of every description for Barbary; where the inhabitants are not bound by any sense of honor or duty, and where interest on money is deemed a crime by their religion, and never enforced payment of by their law.

The cloths principally used in Tunis, are denominated londrine and mahoot; and the proportion of the consumption betwixt them, may be about two-thirds of the former, and one-third of the latter.

The consumption of cloth in Tunis, at present, does not exceed annually much above sixty bales. The proportion betwixt the kinds, continue the same as before.

BRITISH MUSLINS.

A large portion of the immense quantities of muslins, which were formerly sold at Leghorn, found their way to Barbary. The consumption of muslins in time of peace and prosperity, exceeded twenty thousand pieces annually.

The muslins which best suit the market of Tunis, are those of the lowest prices; such as coarse yard-wide, and yard and half wide jacquets; coarse striped low priced lappet muslins, with white, red, or blue, whip; also 7-8 coarse pullicate handkerchiefs. When the colours are mixed, red, blue, or white, serve best; but even blue grounds are saleable.

LINENS.

The consumption of Irish linen in Tunis, formerly amounted to about fifty cases in one year; now it does not exceed twenty.

Irish linen for Tunis, must be of the coarsest sort. This serves two purposes: first, the merchant draws his bounty in England; and next, he insures himself a better profit. For the Moors are by no means competent judges of the quality of linen; and will seldom pay more than from thirty to thirty-five piasters per piece.

In making up the cases, it ought to be observed, that forty pieces are sufficient for one case.

Coarse German linens are also consumed to some extent in Tunis; but this article, like most others, has decreased to about one-third less than what it was formerly.

SERGES.

Serges, called imperial serges, have a tolerable sale in Tunis; and it is computed, that the consumption of them, at present, may amount to four hundred pieces annually.

COFFEE.

Coffee of Martinique, is now more generally used in Tunis than that of Mokka, on account of a law in force in the country, enjoining, that "Turks alone shall sell Mokka coffee." The consumption of Martinique coffee, at present, amounts to nearly fifteen hundred

cantars per annum ; and the price is from eighty-five to ninety piasters per cantar. At other times, the quantity consumed, amounts to nearly three times more than at present ; as many of the Greeks, and others from the Levant, who bring silk, &c. to Tunis, take off a quantity of coffee in return.

Coffee for the market of Tunis, should be packed in barrels, of from three to four cantars each. This has a wonderful effect in facilitating sales, and shortens the credit, if any be necessary to be given. It is the mode also best adapted for transportation in the interior, where the coffee is carried on the backs of animals.

SUGAR.

The quantity of sugar consumed, amounts, at present, to two thousand cantars annually. In years of plenty, it is nearly three times that amount.

The quality of sugar which is most current, is that of the Havana ; in cases of from three to four cantars each.

SPICES.

All kinds of spices find a limited sale in Tunis. Of allspice, or pimento, the present consumption is about five hundred cantars annually ; of cloves, about one hundred cantars ; of nutmegs, twenty cantars ; and of cinnamon, about thirty cantars.

ALUM.

A large quantity of alum is annually required for the use of the manufactures.

IRON.

Swedish iron is consumed to the amount of fifteen hundred cantars annually. The price, at present, is from twenty to twenty-two piasters per cantar.

SILK.

Raw silk, in these days of peace and prosperity, was brought to Tunis every year, to the amount of two hundred bales, each weighing one cantar. The quantity at present imported, does not exceed sixty bales ; but this does not proceed so much from the want of con-

sumption; as from the difficulty of getting it brought to market. The greatest quantity of raw silk came from the Morea, and the Archipelago. The present price is at nine piasters per rotolo.

SPANISH WOOL.

Spanish wool was at one time one of the most extensive and most lucrative articles of import to Tunis.

The consumption of wool in the regency, at one time, amounted to no less than three thousand bales of two cantars each; it has now dwindled to about seven hundred. The use made of this wool, is for the cap manufacture, so famous in the country, and the reasons of the decline of its consumption, have already been stated.

The proportion in which Spanish wool is imported, are two-thirds of the finest, and one of the second quality, called *fioretto*.

COCHINEAL.

The consumption of dying materials in Tunis, is considerable.—Cochineal, the most valuable of dyes, is, at present, consumed to the extent of nearly seventy cantars per annum; twenty of which are supposed to be consumed in the regency, and the other fifty to be taken by the caravans of Gdamsia. The subjects of Morocco also carry off a great quantity of cochineal. The consumption of this article, in the days of peace, would not much exceed the present, unless the cap manufacture should resume its former vigor.

The price of cochineal of the first quality, is, at present, reckoned very high, and is from thirty to thirty-five piasters per rotolo. In peace, it has at times been as low as fourteen piasters; but the price of this delicate article is regulated according to the quality.

INDIGO.

Indigo is raised in the country. The consumption of any other is, therefore, very trifling. The indigo of Tunis, is of a very ordinary quality. It is probably not manufactured with much skill, and by a proper attention, might without doubt be greatly improved.

PERNAMBUCCO.

The consumption of dye-woods is inconsiderable. The kind which is principally used, is that called *pernambucco*. The amount of it, at present, may be one thousand cantars annually, and during peace fifteen hundred. Its present price is about one hundred and ten piasters per cantar; but it only renders from seventy to seventy-five, in the time of peace.

